Greek Myths Abroad

A Comparative Regional Study of Their Funerary Uses in Fourth-Century BC Apulia and Etruria

TEXT

Valeria Riedemann Lorca

Lincoln College

University of Oxford

A thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Archaeology

Hilary Term 2015

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation presents a regional comparative study of the uses of Greek heroic stories as illustrated on funerary monuments of Apulia and Etruria in the fourth century BC. Founded on the grounds of contextual archaeology and reception theory, it approaches a group of Apulian red-figure vases, Etruscan sarcophagi and tomb-paintings from both regions as a means of investigating the cultural significance of the myths presented in the grave by different peoples in Italy. Moreover, this study emphasises the possible ways in which viewers engaged with the images depicted on these monuments by defining a cultural frame ('horizon of expectations') for their interpretation of the images. Further contributions include the development of a model for the interpretation of the myths depicted on Apulian red-figure vases and the prominence of the corpus of Etruscan mythological sarcophagi, a type of monument often neglected in Etruscan studies. At the end of the dissertation, it will become clear – it is expected – that there were regional preferences for particular myths and differences in both the media and the ways in which Greek myths were used and displayed during the funeral.

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Abbreviations

ABV	Beazley, J.D. 1956. *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters.* Oxford.
ABSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
AE	'Amazonae Etruscae', *LIMC I* (Mavleev).
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AM	Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athenische Mitteilunge
AntK	*Antike Kunst*
ARV^2	Beazley, J.D. 1963. *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters. 2*nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
AttiMGrecia	*Atti e memorie della Società Magna Grecia*
BABesch	*Bulletin antieke beschaving: Annual Papers on Mediterranean Archaeology*
Beazley Add	Carpenter, T. H., with Mannack, T. and Mendonca, M. 1989. *Beazley Addenda. Additional References to ABV, ARV2 and Paralipomena.* 2nd ed. Oxford.
BSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens*
BM	*British Museum*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BCH Suppl.	*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, Supplément.*
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies,* University of London.
CSE	*Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum* (various editions).
CVA	*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (various editions).
DialArch	*Dialoghi di archeologia*
EP	Steingräber, S. 1986. 'Etruscan Painting', in D. Ridgway and F. Serra Ridgway (eds.) *Etruscan Painting: Catalogue Raisoneé of Etruscan Wall Painting*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
ES	Gerhard, E., Klügmann, A., and Körte, G. 1795-1897*. Etruskische Spiegel.* Berlin: G. Reimer.
EtrStud	*Etruscan Studies. Journal of the Etruscan Foundation*
EVP	Beazley, J.D. 1947. *Etruscan Vase Painting.* Oxford.
FdX	*Fouilles de Xanthos*
H	Herbig, R. 1952. *Die jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage (Die antiken Sarkophagsreliefs 7)*. Berlin.
IstForsch	*Istanbuler Forschungen*
IstMitt	*Istanbuler Mitteilungen*
JdI	*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
JHE	Journal of Hellenic studies
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*

JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
LCS	Trendall, A. D. 1967. *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily.* Oxford.
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicon Mythologiae Classicae.* 1981-1989. Zurich and Munich: Artemis.
LEPRH	D. Briquel and F. Gaultier (eds.). 1997. *Les Étrusques, les plus religieux des hommes: État de la recherche sur la religion étrusque. Actes du colloque international du Grand Palais (17-19 novembre 1992)*. Paris: La Documentation Française.
MAAR	*Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*
MA(N)	Museo Archeologico (Nazionale)
MonAnt	*Monumenti antichi*
NM	Athens, National Museum
Para	Beazley, J.D. 1971. *Paralipomena.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
PIV	Cassano, R. (ed.). 1992. *Principi imperatori vescovi: duemila anni di storia a Canosa*. Venice: Marsilio.
RM	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung.*
RM-EH	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung: Ergänzungsheft
RVAp	Trendall, A.D. and A. Cambitoglou. 1978–1982. *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia,* I-II. Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press.
RVAp Suppl	Trendall, A.D. and A. Cambitoglou. 1983. *First supplement to The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia.* London: University of London, Institute of Classical Studies.
StEtr	*Studi etruschi*
StMisc	*Studi miscellanei: Seminario di archeologia e storia dell'arte greca e romana dell'Università di Roma*
TLE	Pallotino, M. 1968.*Testimonia Linguae Etruscae*. Florence.
WorldArch	*World Archaeology*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

To Áurea and Lucrecia

Chapter I

Introduction: Heroic Myth in Funerary Contexts

1. Introduction

The death of an individual is a decisive moment in which the moral and local values underlying a community's life are revealed within a funerary ideology.[1] In the western periphery of the Greek world, in the Italian peninsula, Greek heroic stories were part of this ideology, but local communities used them in a way unlike the Greeks. Starting with the theoretical framework of the interpretation of myth and mythological images advanced in some recent scholarship, this dissertation presents a comparative study of the uses of Greek myths as seen in the surviving funerary art of Apulia and Etruria during the fourth century BC.

In considering different kinds of burial customs among different communities, the particular use of heroic myths in funerary contexts is a very interesting phenomenon that occurs in the 'periphery' of the Greek world. This phenomenon has rarely been touched upon in current scholarship. Built on the grounds of reception theory, this study approaches a group of funerary monuments from a regional perspective and emphasizes the importance of context in interpreting the images of myth depicted on them. This last point is fundamental to this study since in the archaeological study of myth, context is often neglected. As the perception of objects is shaped by their surroundings, it is essential to bear in mind that the images displayed on different media were part of a whole burial assemblage; by being removed from it, their meaning is less noticeable. Therefore, by examining both the local environment and the different types

[1] Vernant 1982, 5-6; D'Agostino 1985.

of monuments on which myths were depicted and displayed at funerals, the main questions guiding us throughout this study are:

How were Greek heroic stories used in the tomb context of Apulia and Etruria during the fourth century BC? Why those particular myths? Why in these regions and in a particular media?

I attempt to answer this broad research question by focusing on Greek narrative art – namely depictions of scenes that tell stories and considering case studies particular to each region from a comparative perspective. The aim of this study, however, is not to provide a complete explanation of these communities' myth-making or a detailed discussion of how Greek myth entered into the local repertoire. Rather, the aim is to focus on the use of mythological images in the particular context of funerals. This entails three levels of analysis: (a) a discussion of the funerary monuments and their imagery (iconography); (b) how and at what times Greek heroic stories were used and displayed during the funeral (contextual archaeology); and (c) how viewers may have engaged with and understood the images on them (cultural significance).

The majority of mythological images found in graves during the fourth century BC in Italy come from Apulian vase painting and, to a lesser extent, from Etruscan sarcophagi. Tomb-painting is found in both regions but it occurs more frequently in Etruria. This study, therefore, began in an effort to bring together this diverse evidence as a means of investigating the cultural significance of the myths presented at the tomb by different cultures in Italy, as well as comparing their iconographic development and sub-regional distribution.

After analysing the funerary monuments from Apulia and Etruria, it soon became clear that a full understanding of the phenomenon would require looking well beyond the borders of Italy, this time to the East, in the search for comparative material. In spite of their geographic and cultural differences, some funerary monuments from Anatolia, northern Greece and the Black Sea show that dynasts and elites outside the Greek

world shared a similar concern at the time of death: the possibility to display mythological images derived from Greek myth on their funerary monuments.

Although there are some inherited formulae, each of the myths under examination in this study is unique in that its funerary context of display is also part of its meaning. Therefore the media on which mythological images were depicted, their roles as part of a funerary assemblage, and the region in which they were made or found, usually adds something distinctive to an image. Concerning this, it is essential to note that cultural regions across the Mediterranean world shaped myths according to their particular needs, frequently relying on a conventional iconography depicted in a local style. This demonstrates that their meaning, as well as their visual representation were not fixed, but mobilised and adapted from place to place.

It is also important to point out that the depictions of myths in funerary contexts that have survived represent only a small fraction of those created. In addition, a great number of objects depicting mythological images have no certain record of provenance, nor have the exact place in which they were found inside a tomb or burial been reported. In this scenario, the material to be studied has been selected because it is both well-preserved and well-documented, thus facilitating the reconstruction of its original placement and making the interpretation of the images reliable. The selected case studies will illustrate the ways in which the myths depicted in different media were used and understood in relation to a particular region. Some myths, for example, seem to have been popular, the presence of which in South Italy and Etruria could be traced back to Attic and Early Apulian vase painting. For example, Amazonomachies and stories connected with the fall of Troy are common subjects, while the Theban cycle had especial attention in Etruria. This dissertation, therefore, aims at showing that there were regional preferences in both the media and the ways in which Greek heroic stories were used and displayed during the funeral while, at the same time, intending to approach some basic aspects of how the local communities of Apulia and Etruria were

able to express their own ideas through the implementation of mythical models adopted from the Hellenic repertoire.

In what follows I will firstly provide a general geographic and cultural background for the regions under study with their respective materials and funerary contexts. Secondly, I will discuss the previous scholarship concerning myth and art, the problems of contextual research, and how these discussions have affected the regional studies that concern us. Thirdly, I will discuss the methods and approaches to the monuments under study. In the final section of this introductory chapter the reader will find an overview of the thesis.

2. Apulia and Etruria: geographic, cultural and funerary contexts

The main regions under consideration in this study are Apulia and Etruria (Fig. 1). The former is located in south-eastern Italy, from the tip of the heel up the Adriatic coast to the Gargano and inland to the Bradano River (modern Puglia); the latter is located in the central-western part of the country (modern Toscana). The borders of the Etruscan region to the north were the Arno and the Apennines, to the west the Tyrrhenian Sea, and to the south and east the Tiber. But what we call Apulian and Etruscan territory was more culturally than physically defined. Unfortunately, none of the native people of South Italy or Etruria left significant written records, and the few references to them by Greek and Roman authors are problematic, and in many cases biased.[2] Thus, knowledge of them depends primarily on archaeological evidence, which has allowed characteristics in the material culture from these regions to be distinguished for various sub-regional areas.[3] For example, three main cultural areas have been distinguished in Apulia. From south to north these are Messapia, Peucetia and Daunia (Fig. 2), while the material culture of Etruria shows differences between northern and southern Etruria. Yet

[2] Apulia, for example, Polyb. 3.88.4; Str. 5.1.3, 6.3.5-9; Plin. *HN* 3.102; Paus. 10.13.13. For a discussion of the literary sources, see Herring 2000, 48. Etruria, for example, Liv. 5.33.7-10; Str. 5.4.3. See Buonamici 1939; Pallottino 1979.

[3] For ethnic versus cultural identities, see Hall 2004.

it is important to point out that within these regional divisions there are also differences from site to site, as each Italic centre and Etruscan city was characterised by its individualism and independence.[4] For example, sources inform us of twelve dominant Etruscan cities, each of them controlling a certain territory (Fig. 3).[5] In other words, although the Italic people and the Etruscans shared a common language, religion and certain customs their culture is heterogeneous. By the fourth century BC, Apulia and Etruria were part of a wider cultural network composed of other regions such as Lucania and Campania in the south, the region of Latium and Rome in the centre and the Celts to the north.[6]

In the eighth century BC the Greeks began to settle and founded a number of cities along the Calabrian and south-Tyrrhenian coasts of Italy, including Sicily. If, in many ways, the proximity to Greek culture promoted inter-cultural exchanges between the Greeks and the native populations of Italy, it is also important to point out that the cities founded by the Greeks in what is known as Magna Graecia were not necessarily the only mediators through which their culture passed in to the regions under study. That the Greek cities of Taranto (ancient Taras) and Metaponto (Metapontum) in Apulia, and the presence of Greek sanctuaries in Etruscan harbour sites such as Pyrgi and Gravisca played an important role in the transmission of Geek culture is unquestionable.[7] But it is also true that independent trade networks were already well established between the Greek mainland and these regions since the Late Geometric period, as many finds attest.[8] In the Archaic and Classical periods these commercial networks became even more solid as shown by the large numbers of Attic black- and

[4] Following Carpenter 2009a, I will refer to Apulian sites and peoples as Italic in contrast to Italiote for the Greeks at Taranto. On the archaeological differences between southern and northern Etruria, see Camporeale 2005, 15-20.

[5] Liv. 5.33.7-10; Str. 5.4.3. See Torelli 1981[2009]; Spivey and Stoddart 1990; Haynes 2000.

[6] D'Agostino 1990.

[7] Bianchi Bandinelli and Giuliano 1973, 129ff; Torelli 1977; Macintosh-Turfa 1986; D. Ridgway 1990; Colonna 1993b; Torelli 1996; D'Agostino 2006. Throughout this study, the modern names of the sites are used (e.g., Taranto not Taras, Cerveteri not Caere, and so forth).

[8] See Yntema 2013, 65-69. Already in 1948 Dunbabin proposed Bari and the coastal area close to Noicattaro as possible ports through which Greek imports reached the Peucetian region. Likewise, Trani and Barletta were also probable early *emporia*. See Lo Porto 1981, 14; Carpenter 2003, 3.

red-figure pottery that ended up in Apulian and Etruscan tombs. This kind of import, together with the spread of literature (either written or orally transmitted) is thought to be the main medium of the transmission of Greek heroic stories into Italy.

The history of these regions in the fourth century BC was marked by persistent conflicts with Rome, which increased towards the end of the century when Arpi in the Daunian region became an ally of the Romans. In addition, in 334 BC Alexander of Epirus, also known as Alexander the Molossian, crossed over from Macedonia to Italy at the request of Taranto to fight the Sammnites from Apulia and other places, as well as the Lucanians. A richly furnished tomb found in Timmari probably belonged to one of his high ranking soldiers or to Alexander himself.[9] The Etruscans, on the other hand, had not only to confront the Romans, but also the Gauls, who attempted to penetrate further into the Italian Peninsula.[10] In 396 BC, the Romans occupied Veio (Veii) and later; between 358 and 351 BC, a war between Tarquinia and Rome took place.[11] Livy tells us that, in 358 BC the Tarquinians sacrificed 307 Romans in their forum, and later the Romans killed 354 aristocrats from Tarquinia in their own forum.[12] After these events Cerveteri was obligated to accept a truce for one hundred years, while Tarquinia and Civita Castellana were given truces for fourty years. The second half of this century, however, witnessed the growing importance of a few cities in southern Etruria. This transformation is shown by the numerous fortifications and public buildings erected during this period at Tarquinia (Ara della Regina), Falerii, Volsinii/Orvieto, Cerveteri and Vulci. This intense building activity was followed by the introduction of funerary monuments for the aristocracy, which suggests the existence of a dominant class renewed in both its economy and ideology. By contrast building activity of the kind practiced by the Etruscans is not attested in Apulia. The fact that modern cities are settled on the ancient sites makes difficult any archaeological survey in this regard (for

[9] For the history of south Italy in the fourth century BC, see Purcell 1994. For the tomb, see Canosa 2007.
[10] Camporeale 2004, 100.
[11] Liv. 5.30.8 (Veii).
[12] Liv. 7.15.10; 7.19.2-4. See Torelli 1986, 55-56; Haynes 2000, 263.

example, Ruvo and Canosa, including Taranto). By the end of the fourth century BC, Apulia had been absorbed by the growing power of Rome, and the Social War (90-88 BC) and granting of the Roman citizenship to the inhabitants of Etruria put a definite end to the conflicts in this region.[13] About a decade later, the Etruscan language was gradually substituted by Latin.

Commercial exchanges with the Greeks, nonetheless, deteriorated well before the Romans began to pose a threat. The Greek-Etruscan defeat at the battle of Cumae in 474 BC, with the consequent rising power of Syracusa over much of Magna Graecia and its influence in the Tyrrhenian Sea, interrupted the main commercial routes to and from the Aegean, affecting the Apulian and Etruscan cities to different degrees.[14] Towards the end of the fifth century BC, local workshops were already operating in Apulia and Etruria. In Apulia, for example, the first workshops producing red-figure pottery were established at or near the Greek settlements, while in Etruria they were established at Falerii, Vulci, Chiusi and Orvieto. Consequently, soon after the beginning of the fourth century BC, those customers interested in acquiring prestige items, previously satisfied with Attic pottery in Apulia and Etruria, began to direct their interest towards local products. At the time at which south Italian and Etruscan workshops began to produce figure-decorated vessels, many centres in these regions had been obtaining Attic black- and red-figure pottery for more than a century. Therefore, for these peoples the local production of vases continued a well-established tradition. After 360 BC, the production of Apulian red-figure vases increased dramatically, almost to the level of mass-production; however, this phenomenon is not equally observed in Etruria.[15] This can be partially explained by the different material needs for funeral celebrations. In Apulia, for example, these needs were mostly met with pottery, among

[13] Torelli 1985.

[14] Diod. Sic. 11.51; Pind. 1.72; Thuc. 6.88.6. However, a tomb at Populonia (ancient Pufluna), contained two Attic red-figured *hydriai* by the Meidias Painter (Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 81947 and 81948; *ARV*[2] 1312.2 and 1312.1 respectively). See Burn 1987, pls. 22-25a, 27-29; Van der Meer 2012, 168.

[15] Carpenter 2003; Ciancio 2014, 152.

other grave goods. Pots too were important to the Etruscans, but in the fourth century BC the local elites focused their attention on other types of funerary monuments, as, for instance, tomb paintings and sarcophagi.

The production of Etruscan stone sarcophagi, on the other hand, started somewhat later than Apulian vases, around the middle of the fourth century BC. On the other hand the lifespan of mythological subjects on Etruscan sarcophagi – showing a preference for Trojan and Theban myths – extends for only about 50 years. The short life of the mythological Etruscan sarcophagi has usually been explained in relation to the historical circumstances of Etruria mentioned earlier, as changes in the subjects of other media seem also to have occurred. This is the case in Etruscan tomb-painting, which in spite of having a well-established tradition since the sixth-century BC also experienced an interesting shift in our period of study. The cheerful images of feasts, banquets, hunting and games that decorated the tombs of the local elites during the previous two centuries started to be replaced with depictions of figures and scenes connected to the underworld. These scenes are characterised by the addition of local figures such as Charun and Vanth; these also started to appear on sarcophagi. Although we do not have a clear picture of the tomb-painting tradition in Apulia yet, the paintings in the Tomb of Cerberus at Canosa may be part of a similar funerary ideology, which shows a concern about the afterlife.

Adopting and adapting foreign images constitutes an active and complex act of appropriation that implies an independent view of the world and of the knowledge evoked through the images depicted in different media and for different purposes.[16] Both the Italic people of Apulia and the Etruscans borrowed the stylistic and iconographic language from the Greeks in many respects, but their contextualization in a funerary context and in particular media transformed the images of Greek myth into something new. The monuments under examination in this study, namely Apulian vases, Etruscan sarcophagi and Apulian and Etruscan tomb-painting, demonstrate that by the fourth

[16] D'Agostino and Cerchiai 1999, xix.

century BC a not insignificant part of the native population of Italy was conversant with Greek culture.

Unfortunately, we do not know much about the specific rituals involved in the funerary ceremonies of these regions, but some iconographic evidence can be drawn from figure-decorated pottery, tomb-paintings and other contemporary civilizations, such as Greece and other places in Italy, notably Paestum. Greece provides not only written records about funerary rituals and special laws restricting lavish funerals, but also images of funerals at different times in Attic black- and red-figure pottery, while images of tomb visiting are very common on Attic funerary lekythoi and on Apulian vases. In Paestum, tomb-paintings in the Andriuolo necropolis illustrate the laying out of the body (*prothesis*) accompanied by mourners, who sometimes carry small tables with offerings.[17] In addition, we know that games and banquets were celebrated to honour the dead in Etruria. This evidence, alongside that depicted on the monuments themselves, allows us to reconstruct the logic behind funerals in the regions under study.

From a number of studies concerned with death in Classical antiquity, we can say that the funeral procedures involved four successive stages (Fig. 4).[18] Firstly, during the laying out of the body (*prothesis)* mourners came to pay their respects to the dead and their families. Secondly, the body was taken from the house to the grave in a procession (*ekphora)*. Then, the body was placed in a grave (chamber tomb, sarcophagus, pit grave). Finally, relatives visited the tomb.[19]

[17] For example, Tombs 87 and 53. See Pontrandolfo *et al.* 2004, 52-54, figs. 51-53.
[18] Kurtz and Boardman 1971; Morris 1992; D'Agostino 1996; Garland 1985 [2001]. More recently, Oakley 2004; Erasmo 2012.
[19] For death as a rite of passage, see Van Gennep 1977, 146-165 ("Funerals").

Given the nature of the monuments under study, it is therefore safe to assume that they were part of one or more of these funerary stages. As a consequence, the mythological images depicted on them interacted with the viewers at different moments. In Greece and its colonies, however, myths were no part of the funerary imagery; thus, in this sense, the four-stage model is only valid as long as it helps us to reconstruct the different moments of a funeral, but it tells us nothing about the function of the imagery depicted on funerary artefacts. An important aspect of this study is related to the types of funerary monuments, the times at which they were displayed and their relation to the viewers. This identification of the different moments enables us to place the monuments in their contexts of display, thereby getting us closer to understanding the significance of the myths presented at the tomb, the way in which they targeted the audience and their implications on a deeper level of meaning. For example, around these four stages a variety of activities could be performed to honour the dead. In Etruria, tomb paintings made in the sixth and fifth centuries BC show that games took place in honour of the deceased and were accompanied by a funerary banquet. The latter tradition may explain the great variety of Attic black- and red-figure pottery placed in Etruscan tombs during this time. Further, in discussing the problem of the context in which Greek vases were used, Junker has recently suggested that figured vase-paintings on shapes that would not have normally been displayed at the symposium (such as amphorae) may have had their place, nonetheless, at funerary banquets.[20] In Apulia, on the other hand, we have evidence of column kraters that were apparently used for many years before entombment, as they show signs of having been repaired.[21] What interests us here is that these types of funerary monuments tell us something about the identity or identities of the people who were buried or decided to bury their relatives in a particular way with a particular set of images. The visual reproduction of Greek myths by different cultures

[20] See Junker 2011, 105-106, and his discussion about an amphora by Exekias (Berlin,Staatlische Museen, Antikensammlung F 1718). For the social life of objects and their economic value, see Appadaurai 1989, esp. 3-6.

[21] Carpenter 2003, 17-20.

in Italy whether in colonial or other interactive situations shows that the creation of hybrid styles (sometimes qualified as 'misunderstanding') is of immense value to us as it shows that specific myths or aspects of a myth were actively selected or modified according to specific cultural preferences.[22]

A general look at the monuments suggests that they were acquired by the aristocratic elites and, in some cases, by high ranking individuals within a community. Nonetheless, because of the high expenditure in material and execution, such luxuries as an Apulian red-figure volute-krater or an Etruscan sarcophagus or tomb-painting were acquired by just a small part of the population. Concerning this, the material properties of Apulian vases with their various shapes made them, in a way, accessible to a wider public than the Etruscan monuments. In any case, what is important here is that the aristocratic elites of Apulia and Etruria appropriated a wide variety of Greek myths which were displayed in different media at funerals to denote their intellectual and economic prestige within their communities.

3. Previous scholarship

As implied by its title, this study approaches two aspects of archaeological research: mythological images and their funerary context. More specifically, this is a study of a corpus of mythological images depicted on vases, sarcophagi and wall-paintings in the tomb context of Apulia and Etruria. This section discusses the current debates in the regional approaches under consideration.

[22] This approach has been taken by post-colonial theorists who stress the value of the hybridity model over the concept of acculturation, which implied passivity on the part of the colonised (for example, Bianchi Bandinelli's and Giuliano's (1973, 71-128) approach to the Greek 'colonization' of south Italy). In fact, colonialism is a complex concept which is usually associated with economic exploitation and domination on the part of the colonisers, and it disregards the shifts in the balance of power between colonies and native settlements, thus making the concept somehow inappropriate to the study of ancient mobility; see Boardman 2001a, 33-34 and 39; Domínguez 2002, 65. On the nature of Greek colonisation, see Osborne 1998, 251-252; Purcell 2005, 117-120.

3.1. Regional approaches: Apulia and Etruria

3.1.1. Apulia

Most of the studies discussing the relation between Greek myths and art usually include examples of Apulian vases. In these studies, Apulian vases are frequently considered a continuation of Attic red-figure pottery and, with this assumption, many forced interpretations are made. This practice is derived from the art-historical approach to Greek vases that followed Beazley's attribution of the paintings on them to 'artists', thus leaving the function of the vases in a marginal position. This problem gets more difficult when so many of the vases in the museums of the world today have no certain provenance, and many are 'said to be' from such-and-such a place. In this context, when the systematic study of south Italian vases began, it seemed inevitable that some of the same problems that affected the way in which Athenian vases were approached were transposed to Apulian vases as well.

Many fourth century BC Apulian red-figure vases include depictions of high complexity that presuppose familiarity with Greek myth. Like Beazley, Trendall spent nearly 60 years of his life studying and classifying red-figure vases from south Italy and Sicily, attributing them to 'painters' and discussing their shapes and iconography in many publications, sometimes with the collaboration of Cambitoglou with whom he published the *RVAp* series (1978-1982). A similar approach has been taken by Schauenburg, who has written extensively on mythological subjects on south Italian vases.[23] Trendall's view was that the images on Apulian vases were painted by and for the Greeks of Magna Graecia.[24] This view has been challenged and will be discussed in Chapter II. What interests us, for the moment, is what has been said about the mythological imagery on Apulian vases.

The great variety of myths and mythical figures depicted on Apulian red-figure vases has so far been addressed under three main headings: (a) scenes that are

[23] Schauenburg 1983; 1984a; 1984b; 2001.
[24] Trendall 1982 and 1989.

thought to be inspired by theatre productions; (b) funerary imagery that may be associated with Orphic beliefs; and (c) the locals' level of understanding of the myths depicted on the vases (reception).

(a) Theatre. The influence of theatrical performances and tragedy on the images depicted on south Italian and Sicilian vases has been hotly debated for more than three decades since Trendall and Webster published *Illustrations of Greek Tragedy* in 1971. Images associated to one degree or another with Attic tragedy appear on many Apulian vases, particularly during the second and third quarters of the fourth century BC, and they are thought to be connected with theatrical performances at Taranto, a city said to be 'addicted' to theatre. At one end of the debate are those like Moret who sees scenes on Apulian vases directly derived from theatre productions (the 'philodramatic' approach); and at the other end are those who see no necessary connection between them (the 'iconocentric' approach), as stated by Aellen, Cambitoglou and Chamy in a joint publication in 1986.[25] A middle position between these two extremes has recently been taken by Taplin, who thinks that some images on the vases were 'informed' by the plays.[26] He further argues that the viewers of the plays were also the viewers of the vases, who would have enriched their viewing experience by recognising the figures and the episodes of drama depicted on them. No less important is Todisco's work on south Italian vases with tragic subjects (about 400 exemplars), which includes a thorough analysis of this type of imagery, and records of known provenances for them. His study proves that the great majority of vases bearing tragic subjects come, in fact, from native centres like Ruvo and not from Taranto.[27] A similar conclusion was also drawn by E. G. Robinson in his statistical analysis of Apulian red-figure with known provenances, which supports the idea that workshops were located in native sites as well.[28] More recently and based on the iconography of some Attic and Apulian red-figure vases from Ruvo

[25] Moret 1979; Aellen *et al.* 1986.
[26] Taplin 2007.
[27] Todisco 2003. See below, Chapter II, Table 2.
[28] E. G. Robinson 1990b.

(comedy, satyr-plays and tragedy), Carpenter has make a strong case for some sorts of theatrical performance in this Italic centre.

(b) Dionysiac and possible Orphic scenes. These types of scenes and illustrations of *naiskoi* surrounded by young attendants bringing offerings have been interpreted as being an indicator of 'Orphic' beliefs, as suggested by Schmidt in 1974.[29] This approach is largely based on literary evidence on Magna Graecia and on funerary inscriptions invocating Dionysos.[30] The latter type of evidence comes mainly from the so-called Orphic gold tables and in particular a great tablet from Thurii, the contents of which have intrigued scholars for more than a century.[31] Yet, hitherto no inscriptions of this kind have been found in Apulia. Therefore, there is still no further evidence to make a case for Orphic beliefs in this region.

(c) The vases and their public. The reception of the vases and whether the myths depicted on them needed an interpreter who would have explained their subjects and further funerary implications to the public is one of the most important debates in Apulian studies. This crucial point is closely related to the function of the vases, which was first explored by Giuliani about a decade ago in *Tragik, Trauer und Trost*.[32] In this and in several other publications, he has developed different ideas concerning the use of the vases and how the images on them were communicated to the viewers. Some of these ideas include his controversial suggestion of the need of a 'funerary speaker' who would have explained the images to the mourners, notions concerning the narrative versus the allegorical meaning of myths and the vases conceived as objects to be observed ('picture vases').[33] However, some of these approaches to Apulian pottery have generated a variety of responses. For example, based on the scant epigraphical

[29] Schmidt 1974. See also Burkert 1982.
[30] For Orphism and religion in Magna Graecia, see Zunz 1971; Pugliese Carratelli 2005, 251-257; Edmonds 2013. For Dionysos on Apulian vase-painting, see Schauenburg 1983; Kerényi 2005a, 244-250.
[31] *OF* 492. See Edmonds 2011, 29-34; Graf and Johnston 2013.
[32] Giuliani 1995; 1996; 1998 and 2001.
[33] Giuliani 2001, 18.

evidence in Greek Todisco makes a case for the unlikelihood that people in Peucetia, and particularly in Daunia, understood Greek, thereby dismissing Giuliani's theory of a funerary interpreter. Instead, Todisco proposes that it was the painters who would have explained the images on the vases to their clients at the time of the purchase.[34] In short, the problem of the reception of the vases is closely connected with the problem of the level of literacy of painters and of the Italic people. Further implications of these debates will be discussed in Chapter II.

Over the last few decades the present generation of scholars, particularly Italians, has made significant contributions toward obtaining a more accurate understanding of the native people of Apulia. In this sense, the cultural reception of Greek myth among the non-Greeks becomes a central issue. In several publications, scholars such as De Juliis, Todisco, Ciancio and Mazzei, among others have emphasised this particular aspect.[35] Similarly, Pouzadoux has brought new and refreshing views to the discussion of the mythological imagery on Apulian red-figure vases, particularly in relation to vases by the Darius Painter (*ca*. 340-330 BC).[36] Her publication on a warrior prince's grave found in Canosa is certainly one of the most important studies on Daunian funerary art in recent years.[37] Unfortunately, many of these studies have not been published in English, thus limiting their reception to specialists in this field only. Indeed, the trend among many Anglophone scholars has been the study of Magna Graecia, without much consideration for the Italic sites. This problem toward a proper understanding of south Italy was addressed in different articles by Carpenter, where he also discusses the current misconceptions about Apulian vases. For example, he states that, from the start of their production, Apulian red-figure vases and the imagery depicted on them were directed principally at the native people of

[34] Todisco 2010; 2012.
[35] De Juliis 1996; *Id*. 2001 and 2005; Todisco 2003; *Id*. 2010 and 2012; Ciancio 1997; *Ead*. 2010a, 2010b and 2014; Mazzei 1994; *Ead*. 1995 and 1999. More recently, Yntema 2013.
[36] Pouzadoux in 2005; 2008a; 2008b and 2013.
[37] Pouzadoux 2013.

Peucetia rather than at the Greeks of Taranto and Metaponto.[38] In the same line, Denoyelle and Iozzo's publication on early Apulian vases has acknowledged some of the misconceptions pointed out by Carpenter.[39] In this scenario, the recent collection of papers edited by Carpenter, Lynch and E. G. Robinson, *The Italic People of Apulia* – which includes several papers by Italian archaeologists published for the first time in English – is certainly the most important publication regarding current approaches to the study of this region and its pottery.[40]

Finally, a crucial work to understand the tomb context of Apulian vases no less than their imagery is the one published by Montanaro in which he attempts to put the vases back into their original tomb-groups.[41] Although some of his groupings have been contested, his work is important in that it provides an idea of what more than 200 tomb-groups from Ruvo dated between the seventh and the third century BC would have looked like. His study has not only shown important changes in the nature of the funerary *corredi* throughout this timespan, but also constitutes a significant contribution to our understanding of Apulian vases in their original context.

3.1.2. Etruria

Different from Apulia, the study of myth in Etruria has followed a different path. This is due to the diversity of materials and monuments illustrating mythological depictions and their closer interaction with Greek culture.

The integration of Greek myth in Etruria has been hotly debated in the past decades. This debate started when, after analysing some of the 'deviations' made by Etruscan artists in their depictions of myth, Camporeale concluded that they violated 'mythological fact', introducing the term *banalizzazioni* into the discussion. In other words, Etruscan artists did not understand Greek myths and accordingly they made a

[38] Carpenter 2003, 6-7; *Id*. 2009a, 27-32.
[39] Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009, 27-32.
[40] Carpenter *et al.* 2014.
[41] Montanaro 2007.

series of mistakes or 'trivialisations' in their visual representations.[42] A contrary view in a study by Hampe and Simon argues that these deviations show, in fact, a profound knowledge of Greek myth and that they prove that the use of myth in Etruria was rational and selective.[43]

The idea that the Etruscans were actively selecting myth was confirmed in 1974 when Krauskopf published a study on the Theban cycle. After analysing the archaeological evidence, she concluded that the Theban saga was more popular in Etruria than in Greece. About a decade later, J. P. Small complemented Krauskopf's study with a publication of the subject on late Etruscan urns (*ca*. 300-200 BC). This time, however, she found that some versions did not depict Eteocles and Polynices, but the Roman story of Aeneas and Turms.[44] Similarly, Weis studied the motif of a figure tied to a tree, showing that in the fourth century BC there was a common artistic language to central Italy, as also seen in the different versions of Achilles' sacrifice of the Trojan prisoners studied by Maggiani.[45]

Other studies in the form of monographs have focused on detecting mythological figures or episodes of myth on, for example, Etruscan scarabs (Zazoff), sarcophagi and ash urns (Steuernagel, De Angelis, Van der Meer, Stevens), and on engraved mirrors.[46] The latter category is in fact one of the main corpuses for the study of Greek myth in Etruria, and has been organized in different compendia (*ES* and *CSE*). De Grummond's guide and Van der Meer's study on inscribed mirrors are helpful tools to understand particular aspects of this type of artifact.[47]

Although less widespread, another important source for the study of myths in Etruria is tomb-painting, a subject comprehensibly studied by Steingräber since 1986.[48]

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[42] Camporeale 1965, 111-23; *Id*. 1968 and 1969. A synthesis of his ideas is found in *Id*. 1989, 905-924. See also Scheffer 1984.
[43] Hampe and Simon 1964. See also Simon 1996.
[44] J. P. Small 1981.
[45] Weis 1982; Maggiani 1985.
[46] Zazoff 1968. Sarcophagi and ash urns: Steuernagel 1997; De Angelis 1999; Stevens 2001; Van der Meer 2004. Mirrors: De Puma 1982; Van der Meer 2005.
[47] De Grummond 1982; Van der Meer 1985.
[48] Steingräber *EP*; 2006a; 2006b.

Approaches to particular episodes of myth in this medium have been taken by Torelli, Pallottino, D'Agostino, Maggiani, Buranelli, Sgubini Moretti (François Tomb); Weber-Lehmann, Cristofani (Tomb of Orcus II); Massa-Pairault (Orvieto), among others.[49]

Myths in Etruria have also been studied from the perspective of political history or religion. The former approach, which relies on the model of Torelli's social history, is seen in the works by Massa-Pairault as well as by Menichetti (*cistae*).[50] On the other hand, religion is the subject of a collection of papers gathered in *LEPRH*. Since no paper by Anglophones is included in this publication, a study edited by De Grummond and Simon aimed at filling this gap.[51] Recent studies by De Grummond, Stevens and Van der Meer in this field show that there is still much to be done.[52] Other publications concerning Greek myth and religion in Etruria with an inclusion of Etruscan mythical figures include Krauskopf's, Jannot's, Roncalli's and De Grummond's.[53] The latter is particularly illustrative in integrating various types of monument into the discussion.

Recently, Simon has published a synthetic overview of Greek myth in Etruria, focusing almost exclusively on the sixth century BC, without making reference to the important changes that occurred in the fourth century BC.[54] In short, the discussion about the presence of Greek myths in Etruria has hitherto concentrated in how they entered the region and their vast numbers depicted on vases, mirrors and Hellenistic funerary urns. In this scenario, the situation of the mythological Etruscan sarcophagi in the fourth century BC is something that still requires closer consideration, as this type of monument is often marginal to the discussions. A forthcoming publication by De Angelis might shed new light on the interpretations of myths during this period.[55]

[49] Torelli 1985; Massa-Pairault 1985; Buranelli 1987; Cristofani 1987; Pallottino 1987; Weber-Lehmann 1995; D'Agostino 2003; Sgubini Moretti 2004.
[50] Torelli 1986; *Id*. 2000 and 2005; Massa-Pairault 1992; *Ead*. 1997 and 1999; Menichetti 1994.
[51] De Grummond and Simon 2006.
[52] De Grummond 2006; Stevens 2009; Van der Meer 2010; Krauskopf 2013.
[53] Krauskopf 1987; Jannot 1993 and 1997; Roncalli 1996; De Grummond 2006. See also *LIMC*, Vanth (Weber-Lehmann 1997).
[54] Simon 2013, 495-512.
[55] De Angelis (forthcoming).

3.2. Justification for the present research

To date, the main focus given by scholars to the study of myth has been from the perspective of Greek vases and Roman sarcophagi (though sometimes sculpture and wall-paintings are also considered). This has obscured the fact that there is a not insignificant corpus of similar materials from other cultures that were also part of classical antiquity and that show a similar concern for and engagement with Greek mythology. These are the corpuses of Apulian red-figure vases, Etruscan sarcophagi and, to a lesser extent, tomb painting. Among them, sarcophagi are particularly interesting because they show that even if they never reached the quantity of Etruscan funerary urns or the high artistic level of the later Roman versions, the Etruscan mythological sarcophagi are evidence that myths were used at the grave in this particular type of monument long before the Romans.

The great majority of studies on mythological images are more concerned with deciphering *what* is represented in a certain image instead of asking *how* is represented, and *why* on a specific medium and region. Furthermore, the extent to which context becomes relevant into the picture is often neglected. For example, few attempts have been made to approach the problem of the funerary use of myths on Apulian red-figure vases; that is, to consider the vases as part of a group and not in isolation (as most iconographic studies do), and to think of the moments at which and the ways in which the images on the vases were displayed during the funeral.

On the other hand, because of the unequivocal use of sarcophagi as body receptacles, we can be certain of their use in funerary contexts. Nonetheless, chamber tombs could contain several sarcophagi as well, and thus it is worth looking at what other monuments or grave goods accompanied them. The section devoted to sarcophagi in this research also aims at highlighting the importance of this type of monument, which is not much considered in Etruscan studies. A recent example of this

indifference towards sarcophagi is found in Macintosh-Turfa's latest publication.[56] Despite its wide scope and large number of contributors, there is no entry for sarcophagi in the art category. In recent years, the only significant study on Etruscan sarcophagi has been the one by Van der Meer, who considers both mythological and non-mythological sarcophagi.[57] Therefore, my classifications follow, many times, those made in his publication.

Finally, I discuss the funerary uses of Greek mythology in this study because I think that myth, beyond its potential aesthetic function, played an important part in the funerary traditions of Apulian and Etruscan societies. The images of myth decorating the funerary monuments under examination were not purely ornamental. Instead, they were carefully selected because they were supposed to 'bring' something to the situation. In this regard, this study is an attempt to explore how the contextual aspects of mythological images and the interpretative approaches to myth emphasised in recent publications by Hölscher, Junker, Zanker and Ewald and Giuliani are to be extrapolated to these particular Apulian and Etruscan funerary monuments.[58] This study is, therefore, the result of these important contributions to the current understanding of the visual representation of myths.

4. Methods

What unites this study both thematically and methodologically is the effort to understand the underlying significance of myth representation within the particular context of funerals. As the main research question of this study addresses a broad set of theoretical issues, the monuments will be analysed through a variety of methods. By being theoretically grounded in reception theory and viewers' response, the approach to

[56] Macintosh-Turfa 2013.
[57] Van der Meer 2004.
[58] Junker 2011; Hölscher 2011; Zanker and Ewald 2012; Giuliani 2013.

the monuments will cover the following topics: (a) type of funerary monument; (b) regional case-studies; and (c) reception and funerary use of the myths.

(a) Funerary monuments. This section describes the typology, chronology and decoration of the funerary monuments. A study of style and iconography of the monuments is thus here relevant as to have an idea of the use of motifs in the visual representation of myths in a given cultural context.[59] Aspects of production and consumption of the monuments will not be discussed at length as the role of the artists and patronage in the milieu of south Italy and Etruria is something that remains obscure. Instead, as our concern is with the viewers, this section aims at providing an idea of the material properties of the monuments to be analysed in the following sections.

(b) Regional case studies. Following (a), the provenance of the monuments will be taken into consideration. In addition, as our materials come from graves, we can be certain about their funerary context. This section (Section 3) pays particular attention to regional variations and the iconography of the monuments. It also considers their relation to the other images in the tomb, thus relying in the importance of contextual research for the study of artefacts. The nature of their funerary function is discussed in the next stage in connection to the viewers.

(c) Reception and funerary use of the myths. These topics are covered in the 'Discussion' section of each chapter (Section 4). Here, the role of the viewers is discussed as they also played their part in the funeral as mourners. The images on the monuments are supposed to have targeted viewers at different times during the funerary ceremony. Therefore, they were supposed to be seen at some point and, in this way, they communicated with the viewer who makes sense and creates meaning from them. Reception theory and other studies concerning the role of the viewer will be essential in this stage of the analysis. In addition, an attempt will be made to imagine the funerary

[59] De Grummond 2006; Junker 2011.

monuments and the possible implications of the uses of mythological images during the funeral. This final stage of the analysis takes into consideration all the previous ones in a final effort to determine the potential cultural significance of the representations of myth in Apulian and Etruscan funerary monuments. Current studies on the interpretation of mythological images in various media will provide a model for the analysis of the funerary imagery. In short, Section 4 will discuss the status of the individual who commissioned or to whom a monument was dedicated, the function of the images on the funerary monuments, the places where they were displayed and, as a result of all these variants, the way in which the myths depicted on the monuments were perceived by the viewers (reception theory). This last point allows us to define the monuments in part by what is around them (contextual archaeology) and not only by the features of the images depicted on them.

4.1. Reception theory and viewers' response

Reception theory which was developed by the Konstanz school since 1963 is concerned with reader-response criticism. Among its leading members is H. R. Jauss, who in his *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception* has been developed an approach towards the reception of literary works.[60] His approach is relevant to our study because it considers two important aspects: firstly, it considers the interaction of work and recipient, with its previous and successive reception; secondly, because it develops the concept of a 'horizon of expectations'.[61]

In Jauss' view, the 'expectations' always structure the reading of a text, which demands a previous knowledge of the genre; while the term 'horizon' implies that these expectations are part of a reader's historical circumstance 'formed by a convention of genre, style or form'.[62] Concerning this, the 'horizon of expectations' for the time frame of the present study is the background of visual (or literary) knowledge formed by what

[60] Jauss 1982.
[61] Jauss 1982, 34.
[62] Jauss 1982, 24.

Italic and Etruscan audiences have seen, heard or read, what they have experienced, and their interpretation of specific mythological images according to this horizon. For example, by looking at the iconography of departure scenes in Attic vase painting, the substitution of the warrior and the female figure holding the traditional vessels for libations for a warrior and a female figure in Italic dress and bearing vases in native shapes (such as *nestorides*) testify for different expectations on the part of the viewers.[63] In this regard, Jauss argues that the appearance of a new work, whose reception can result in a 'change of horizons' through confrontation with familiar experiences or through rising newly articulated experiences to the level of consciousness allows an objective study of the aesthetic distance between what was expected and what resulted from it, by considering the audience's responses (success, approval, rejection, and so forth). Jauss suggests three ways to construct the 'horizon':

> "…first, through familiar norms or the immanent poetic of the genre; second, through the implicit relationships to familiar works of the literary-historical surroundings; and third, through the opposition between fiction and reality, between the poetic and the practical function of language, which is always available to the reflective reader during the reading as a possibility of comparison".[64]

However, the objectification of the 'horizon of expectations' has its limitations. This is because it presupposes a neutral position from the present perspective about how a 'horizon of expectations' was in a given period. In other words, it is impossible to escape from our own understanding when interpreting a work of art, a problem already identified by Gadamer.[65] In addition, the novelty of a work is also problematic as criterion for evaluation, since many past eras 'appear to have appreciated works as much for their similarity with, as their difference from, traditional forms'.[66] On this matter, it is interesting to ask to what extent representations of mythological images in funerary contexts were similar to or different from other contexts. The wide variety of mythological scenes on Apulian vases, for example, would have been in tension with the viewers' expectations every time they attended a funeral. Therefore, by extrapolating

[63] For the use of column kraters in Apulia, see Chapter II.
[64] Jauss 1982, 24.
[65] See Holub 1984, 58-63; Gadamer 1975 [2004], 267-268.
[66] Holub 1984, 63.

Jauss's 'changing of horizons' – which implies aesthetic distance between the 'horizon of expectations' and their literary work – to the 'horizon' in which the visual representation of mythological images took place in fourth-century BC Italy, we obtain the following possible situations framing the understanding of myths in funerary contexts:

i. Myths may have been familiar to viewers in Apulia and Etruria through their depictions on Attic vases from the sixth and fifth centuries BC, which were widely distributed in these regions. Moreover, architectural sculpture in public buildings (Etruria), funerary *naiskoi* (Apulia) and other objects of personal use such as engraved mirrors, Pranestine *cistae* and gems (Etruria), would have contributed to a widespread imagery of Greek myth.

ii. In addition, literary works in connection to the Trojan and Theban cycles, as well as tragedies (including the possibility of tragic performances), and popular heroic stories orally transmitted may have facilitated the understanding of the visual representation of myths.

iii. In some cases, and particularly during the fourth century BC, there seems to be an allegoric use of myth, as seen in the representation of Achilles' sacrifice of the Trojan prisoners, where fiction mixes with reality. This is seen, for example, in the association of the Greeks with the Etruscans and the historical event of the sacrifice of Roman prisoners of war at Tarquinia in 358 BC. As Jauss states, this circumstance would imply that 'the reader [viewer] of a new work can perceive it within the narrower horizon of literary [visual] expectations, as well as within the wider horizon of experience of life'.[67]

The 'horizon of expectations', therefore, is not fixed, but is always in motion, as readers [viewers] change over time. In this way, by considering Jauss's aesthetic of reception, it is possible to reconstruct the set of cultural values, assumptions, and

[67] Jauss 1982, 24.

principles that shaped the way in which viewers understood and judged mythological images at a given point in time and in the particular context of funerals. Therefore and in spite of its limitations, Jauss's theory is relevant to this study in that it shows that these relations are constantly changing and that genre itself is formed over time.

Despite the great variety of myths that exist, they are not infinite and to a certain extent they can be grouped according to content and use in real life. Concerning this, Zanker and Ewald's study is particularly strong when it comes to the conception of 'living with myth' and how certain recurrent motifs (such as death, abduction and grief) appear in Roman mythological sarcophagi, notwithstanding the broader narrative to which these themes belong.[68] This is relevant to the present study in that, firstly, it proposes recognition of particular themes common to different myths; and secondly, that in reconstructing the visual culture of ancient societies, we should avoid the intrusion of alien assumptions that do not in fact reflects these peoples' realities. In the same line, a publication edited by De Angelis and Muth contain several informative papers on the relation between images of myths and their contexts of use.[69]

The images of tomb visiting that are common on Apulian vases, for example, could equally well be classed under rituals performed in honour of a family member, or concern with one's death, or even both. Nevertheless, these uncertainties which apply to many individual cases do not undermine the justification of the theoretical approaches discussed here. In fact to our advantage, is the fact that, unlike the majority of Attic vases, we can be certain that Apulian vases were created with a funerary purpose in mind (at least for the larger and elaborately ornamented vessels), and that they were found in tombs. We are even more certain about sarcophagi, which were receptacles for the bodies of the dead, whereas many of the paintings on the walls of Etruscan and Apulian graves are still *in situ*.

[68] Zanker and Ewald 2012, 55.
[69] De Angelis and Muth 1999.

Finally, the better preserved a monument or object is, the better prepared one is to track down its meaning and, in this way, provide us a plausible interpretation of the mythological images depicted on them. Unfortunately, this is not the case for all the monuments studied here. Apart from the tomb paintings in Tarquinia and Canosa, the rest of the monuments are displayed in museums. This is something particularly difficult for considering Apulian tomb-groups as many of them were sold separately after being excavated or come from illegal excavations.[70] In addition, although most of the monuments studied here are in relatively good condition, some of them are fragmented or weathered, and many of the relief sculptures on sarcophagi have lost their colours. Consequently it is difficult – although not impossible – for the modern viewer to engage in a direct reading of the visual properties of the myths in their original contexts of display. At best, based on historical facts and archaeological data, this study attempts to reconstruct the original setting and circumstances in which Greek heroic stories were used in the tomb context of different cultures. This dissertation is thus as much an exploration of mythological images in Apulian vases, Etruscan sarcophagi and tomb paintings from both regions – their styles, functions, meaning, and representations – as it is an investigation of their funerary uses and their particular cultural significance in fourth-century BC Italy.

5. Overview

This dissertation is divided into five chapters **(Table 1)**. The introductory chapter (Chapter I) has hitherto provided the justification and theoretical background for the present study. It has discussed the cultural environment, the previous scholarship on the study of mythological images and contextual research in Apulia and Etruria, as well as the methods and theoretical approaches to be used throughout this study. As the funerary monuments are grouped by region, Chapter II discusses a selection of tomb-

[70] For the problem of provenance of Apulian vases and *tombaroli*, see Graepler and Mazzei 1996.

groups from the Apulian regions of Peucetia and Daunia. The chapter is mostly concerned with depictions of mythological images on Apulian vases, including one example of tomb-painting and their current problems of interpretation. Then, Chapter III examines a number of funerary monuments from southern Etruria. These include a corpus of stone sarcophagi from different Etruscan sites (Tarquinia, Tuscania, Orvieto and Vulci), as well as tomb-paintings from two tombs at Tarquinia and Vulci. The funerary use of Greek myths as it appears in the surviving funerary monuments from other regions in the Mediterranean is discussed in Chapter IV. Here, selected body of material from Anatolia, Sidon and Cyprus, the Black Sea and northern Greece are passed in review to provide comparative material for the understanding of the phenomenon of decorating funerary monuments with Greek heroic stories. Finally, Chapter V highlights the potential, but also the problems, of interpreting mythological images in funerary contexts of display. This study concludes with a discussion of the iconographic cultural variations and the funerary uses of the mythological images in the tomb-context of different societies in the fourth century BC. It will also show that the relation between object and context is crucial in the process of interpretation and elaboration of meaning, which are important to the funerary purpose of the myths depicted on them. At the end of this study, it will become clear – it is expected – that there were regional preferences for particular myths, and differences in both the media and the ways in which Greek heroic stories were used and displayed during the funeral.

Chapter II

The Funerary Uses of Greek Myth in Apulia

1. Introduction

The great majority of South Italian vases do not come from systematically conducted excavations. Nonetheless, the exemplars for which we have contextual information are particularly interesting, since they can be studied in their original funerary assemblages together with other objects associated with them. This chapter focuses principally on a collection of vases that belong to selected fourth-century BC tomb-groups from the Apulian regions of Peucetia and Daunia. These specific case studies have been chosen because they come from well-documented tombs and thus we can be certain about their original context of deposition.

Tombs at some Italic centres such as Ruvo, Ceglie and Gravina offer a series of rich groups of grave goods, testifying to the high degree of culture and the flourishing economy of the Peucetian centres during the first half of the fourth century BC. In Daunia, the finds at Arpi and Canosa demonstrate not only a late development in vase and tomb painting, but also testify to the crescent diffusion of Greek culture up to the end of the century. Furthermore, it is important to point out that the funerary material from Apulia's neighbouring regions such as Lucania and Campania have also revealed myths on its repertoire, although less prominently than in indigenous Apulian tombs. This tendency also extends to southern Apulian regions, such as Messapia and the Greek settlements at Taranto and Metaponto. Therefore, we can say that there was something special about Greek myths that particularly appealed to the Italic people of the Peucetian and Daunian regions.

It is not the aim of this chapter to review the scholarship and the various interpretations of Apulian vase-painting.[71] Instead, the aim is to direct the study of some specific Apulian vases back to the group and context in which they were originally displayed. In other words, to see a group of painted vases as a structure that can be recognised and understood on its own terms, not just as some isolated evidence for a literary text (either surviving or lost) or daily life in ancient Apulia. As a consequence, the mythological images on the vases, considered as part of a group destined for a specific use in a particular context, become central.

The images of myths depicted on these vases were intended to be displayed at funerals, thereby targeting the mourners in different ways. In trying to explain how Greek heroic stories were used in Apulia, the following section will examine the main features of the manufacture, shape and decoration of Apulian red-figure vases. The selected case studies will be presented by region in Section 3. Next, Section 4 will discuss some of the problems concerning the function and interpretation of Apulian red-figure vases in the current scholarship. This section also proposes an alternative explanation of the ways in which these vases were used and of the uses of the vases and the ways viewers could have interpreted them during the funeral. The conclusions will be discussed in Section 5.

2. Funerary monuments: Apulian red-figure vases and tomb painting

Apulian pottery and painting is, undoubtedly, indebted to the influence of the imports from Attica. Yet the shape, the style and the subject matter of Apulian vases are rather different from those of Athenian vases.[72] In fact, the archaeological records show a decrease in the number of Attic imports at the end of the fifth century BC while, at the same time, earlier Apulian red-figure workshops were established in a number of Italic

[71] See Trendall 1989, with bibliography. More recently, Carpenter 2009a; Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009; Carpenter *et al*. 2014.
[72] Macdonald 1981, 156; Trendall 1990, 219; Carpenter 2009a.

centres, probably functioning in Ruvo or Ceglie del Campo.[73] Consequently, South Italian pottery of the fourth century BC differed from pottery made in Athens due, perhaps, to the demands and tastes of the local population. Carpenter argues that the main market for vases of local production was the people of Apulia.[74] Therefore, the specific shapes and iconographies selected for these vessels give us some valuable information about the tastes and particular choices of the people in Italic sites.[75]

2.1. Apulian red-figure vases

2.1.1. Chronology and typology

Two different schools of Early South Italian red-figure vases have been identified: Lucanian and Apulian.[76] The latter has its origins in the works of the so-called Sisyphus Painter and developed two different styles; the Plain style and the Ornate style. The former is characterised by a relatively simple composition of no more than two or three figures. The latter is found in larger vases and has a much more elaborate arrangement of figures, probably encouraged by the late fifth-century BC Athenian vases in the Rich Style that were imported to places like Taranto and Ruvo.[77] Although this division of styles as it appears in *RVAp* today is problematic, the traditional classification of Apulian vases is as follows: Early Apulian (430-370 BC); Middle Apulian (370-340 BC); Late Apulian (340-300 BC).[78] Throughout this span of time, it is possible to observe the locals' preference for two particular shapes: the volute and the column kraters.

[73] Based on both style and provenance of the Apulian red-figure vases published in *RVAp,* E. G. Robinson (1990b) makes a statistical survey to examine the possible localisation of local workshops. Also Carpenter 2003, 4-6; Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009, 157-161.

[74] Carpenter 2003, 6-7. Trendall (1990, 219) suggests less than one per cent of the extant total was exported.

[75] Carpenter 2009a, 32.

[76] For evidence of workshops operating in Metaponto, see D'Andria 1980; De Juliis 2001a.

[77] On the Plain Style, see for example, London, BM F74, column-krater showing the departure of warriors (note the youths wearing local garments and the girl holding a *nestoris*); *RVAp* I, 16 no. 1/55; Trendall 1989, ill. 37. On the Ornate Style, see for example, Ruvo 1096, *RVAp* I, 16, no. 1/52, pl. 5,1; Trendall 1989, ill. 35-36; Williams 1985, 56.

[78] E. G. Robinson 1990a, 179-193; Lippolis 1996, 357-361. On the problem of stylistic attributions to painters and workshops, see Denoyelle 2005, 104-112; *Ead*. 2014, 116-129.

The former was popular in Peucetia in both its Attic and Apulian version and was the preferred shape for depictions of mythological subjects. By contrast, non-mythological subjects appear on column kraters.[79] Other shapes, such as rhyta are also common in Peucetian tombs, particularly in Ruvo. They were usually made in Attica, but in Ruvo this shape was locally produced and it appears together with Attic versions.

As time went by, vases in the Ornate style became larger (1-1.40 m), thus providing more space for depictions. This gradual monumentalisation of the large shapes was probably due to the fact that they were used as funerary monuments, and thus used primarily for display. Indeed, a similar phenomenon occurred in Athens some centuries earlier. Here, finds in the Dipylon cemetery revealed that the monumentalisation of a particular shape was already an important funerary practice during the Late Geometric Period. For example, huge painted amphorae and (pedestal) kraters by the Dipylon Painter (*ca*. 750 BC) with funerary scenes were used as grave markers, so were clearly intended for display.[80] As in Apulia, this kind of funerary vessel occurred among the aristocratic groups of Athens, whose graves could also include gold and silver wares. Conversely, the monumental volute-kraters found in some Macedonian tombs were not used as grave markers. Similar to Apulia, they were buried inside the tomb alongside other grave goods. The bronze volute-krater with Dionysian imagery found in Tomb B at Derveni (*ca*. 320 BC) and the marble volute-krater found in the Stenomakri Tomb at Vergina, dated to the fourth-century BC, further testify to the importance of this shape in funerary contexts. In Greece, this specific shape finds precedents in elaborated Attic volute-kraters of the late fifth and early fourth centuries BC and it is still seen in neo-Attic marble kraters (including the volute type) in the late

[79] See Schauenburg 2001, 24-49; Carpenter 2003 (column-kraters); Carpenter 2009a, 32. On statistics, see E. G. Robinson 1990b, 187. For shapes and scenes produced exclusively for the Peucetian market, see E. G. Robinson 1990b; Carpenter 2003; Colivicchi 2014. For vases depicted on Apulian red-figure vases, see Sisto 2006b, 411-417.

[80] Athens NM 804, *CVA* I, pl. 8 and Paris, Louvre A517 respectively. See Boardman 2001b, 20-24, fig. 13; Galanakis 2013, 35-41, esp. 35-36, figs. 1 and 3.

Hellenistic period.[81] Therefore, considering Apulian red-figure volute-kraters (and other monumental shapes, such as amphorae or loutrophoroi) as funerary monuments and not as vessels is revealing, as this indicates an interest in particular shapes that were intended for display.

Nevertheless, these large vessels were not displayed in isolation. In fact, the funerary assemblages of the richest Apulian tombs concentrate on grouping some large vessels such as volute-kraters, amphorae or loutrophoroi alongside a larger number of smaller ones (for example, oinochoai, phialai, skyphoi and lekanides). Therefore, any Apulian tomb containing more than one volute-krater or various vessels of monumental shape had a great impression upon the viewers. In addition, the small vessels commonly show a predilection for shape repetition, which likely also had a particular meaning. This habit of displaying numerous quantities of the same object in Apulian tombs shows a form of display which is contrary to contemporary Greek or Italiote burial customs.[82]

Tombs from Taranto, for example, show poorer funerary assemblages mainly composed of smaller shapes and only occasionally they have elaborated mythological compositions whereas larger shapes are apparently absent.[83] This has been explained with the suggestion that the larger shapes were used as grave markers (*semata*) and not as grave goods.[84] For example, a large calyx-krater featuring Oedipus and the Sphinx was found on the cover of a tomb that contained only small vessels.[85] Nonetheless, vases of this shape and size were never found inside tombs in Taranto.[86] In addition, the iconography of tomb visiting depicted on some Apulian vases shows a krater as tomb marker, sometimes alongside a number of vessels grouped around a funerary monument, thus illustrating its own function. This is observed, for example, on

[81] For pictures of the marble krater at Vergina, see Kyriakou 2013, 211-245. Barr-Sharrar 2008, Chapter 5, esp. 80-93 for Attic precedents. For a neo-Attic example, see the Sosibios Vase in Paris (Louvre, inv. MR 987 (n° usuel Ma 442)).
[82] Gualtieri 1993, 23.
[83] Graepler 1997; Hoffmann 2005, 20; Carpenter 2009a, 32.
[84] Giuliani 2001, 20. On vases used as *semata*, see Hoffmann 2005, 19.
[85] For the calyx-krater, see *RVAp* I, 38, 2/9; Lippolis 1996, 357-361.
[86] E. G. Robinson 2014, 326.

a red-figure bell-krater by the Sarpedon Painter (400-380 BC) from Taranto. The depiction shows the meeting of Electra and Orestes at the tomb of Agamemnon on which a large figured volute-krater stands (Fig. 4). Electra is carrying a hydria on her head and three maids are carrying other funerary goods, one of them carrying a large figured amphora.[87] The use of large vessels as ritual vessels and/or as *semata* is further supported by external deposits at the tombs of the necropoleis of other Italiote sites, such as Metaponto and Locri.[88]

Systematic research by Graepler and Hoffmann in Taranto confirms that a standard 'burial kit' of small vases was used in the middle of the fourth century BC, frequently combining a skyphos with an oinochoe. Their studies have also shown that the introduction of specific grave goods, including red-figure vases, was not led by the aristocratic groups. Initially, some grave goods were limited to specific social groups, such as children or unmarried people, showing a gradual extension to other groups, throughout time. In addition, some shapes seem to have been gender-specific, a custom also observed in a number of indigenous Apulian tombs. In these tombs, kraters are frequently buried alongside male individuals, while hydriai with women.[89]

Taranto is unquestionably one of the main centres of production of red-figure pottery in Apulia; in fact, the largest concentration of red-figure fragments and smaller vases of any site has been found there. However, the identification of workshops active in Taranto and their relationship with other centres of production still needs to be clarified. If the monumental shapes that ended up in tombs in native sites were produced in Taranto, then we have to conceive the existence of very sophisticated techniques for packing and transportation, as vessels would have needed to travel for

[87] *RVAp* I 164, 3; *LIMC*, Elektra I, no. 35; Lippolis 1994a, 40, fig. 19a. Similarly, a Lucanian red-figure hydria by the Choephoroi Painter shows a figured calyx-krater and other vases on a tomb (*LCS* 120, no. 602), while a volute-krater inside a naiskos appears on an amphora by the Painter of Bari 12061 (*RVAp* I 376, no. 14/126, pl. 126, 3; Trendall 1989, fig. 180).

[88] See Carter 1998, 53-113 and Elia 2003, 146-154 respectively.

[89] On the first phases of the necropolis, see Hoffmann 2002, esp. 63-64. On shapes indicating gender, social status or age, see *Id*. 2002, 79-115 (without osteological analysis for the deceased, however). See also Fontannaz 2014, 76.

several days to reach their final destination.[90] Yet it could be also the case that the apparent absence of Apulian red-figure monumental shapes in Italiote tombs at the end of the fourth century BC finds its explanation in their replacement by stone volute kraters, pelikai or amphorae, which have been discovered in the necropolis.[91] As in Athens, the establishment of a democracy in the city could have led to the banning of lavish displays at funerals. If this was the case, then workshops at Taranto might have been producing monumental funerary vases exclusively for Apulian clients in the native centres. These observations are important because they support the idea that Taranto may not have been the main provider for Apulian vases (at least not for the largest and most elaborately painted ones).

Although, originally, red-figured pottery had both ritual and domestic functions, the primary function of Apulian red-figure vases was a funerary one.[92] This is supported by the fact that many of the larger vases have hollow bases and are not glazed inside.[93] Therefore, they could not have been used as containers in the symposium or in the *palaestra*, nor for any other domestic use. Giuliani has called this phenomenon *defunzionallizzazione* or defunctionalisation. This singularity is present in different shapes such as hydriai, loutrophoroi, amphorae and column-kraters. In this way, vases become objects to be looked at and admired, namely 'picture vases'.[94] This leads us to examine aspects of the decoration of the vases.

2.1.2. Decoration

As the tendency to monumentalise particular shapes goes alongside a more elaborate decoration, masks were applied to the handles of volute-kraters, while loutrophoroi

[90] On foot journeys from Taranto to Ruvo (127 km) and to Canosa (146 km) would take about 22 hours and 30 hours respectively. If journeys were made partly by boat and partly by chariot, including possibly stops along the way, the fastest a large vessel could be transported from Taranto to these native centres would be between two or three days.

[91] See Lippolis 1994, 109-128, esp. 112.

[92] For example, pottery found in the Saturo sanctuary (about 12 km to the east of Taranto) and shapes like skyphoi and kraters to serve wine. See Cerchiai *et al.* 2004; Fontannaz 2014, 76. For the uses of local shapes (e.g., *nestorides*) painted onto vases see Colivicchi 2014, 224-226. See also Sisto 2006a.

[93] E. G. Robinson 2014, 327.

[94] Giuliani 1999, 43; *Id*. 2001, 18. For the different shapes, see Lohmann 1982, 210-249.

developed elaborate spiralling handles on either side of the neck. Amphorae also become progressively bigger and more elaborately decorated.

This larger 'frame' allowed the introduction of novel painted elements, too. For example, a painted female head in a floral setting was to become one of the most characteristic elements of Apulian vase-painting, as seen in the works of the Ilioupersis Painter (360-350 BC), who also introduced distinct funerary iconography on these vases.[95] Mythological subjects are often placed alongside funerary scenes, while some paintings represent a tragic event at its fatal culmination. Narrative is created through the juxtaposition of figures and small groups, thus allowing painters to depict a sequence of events. The figures are depicted on a dotted ground line, but they may also appear grouped around *aediculae* or rocks, while a specific iconography is applied to certain figures in order to make them discernible. The whole composition is sometimes divided into different registers, the upper one being reserved for a group of divinities, occasionally replaced by mythological battles like Amazonomachies.[96] Other subjects, appropriate for funerary purposes, include Hades and Persephone in the Underworld, sometimes with Heracles fighting Cerberus in a lower level.[97] Heracles' deeds appear less prominently than on Athenian vases, but he is frequently shown in the Garden of the Hesperides.[98] Heroes such as Perseus and Theseus are even less recurrent – although the former is seen a few times fighting the sea-monster while Andromeda is bound to the rock.[99] Scenes from the Trojan Cycle are also depicted: for example on a volute-krater by the Darius Painter representing the funeral of Patroclus and on some of the vases discussed below.[100] Last but not least, the cult of the dead is frequently shown, represented by mourners with offerings at a *naiskos* where the deceased is

[95] Trendall 1989, 79; Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009, 138-139; Carpenter 2014, 273.
[96] See Morard 2009, 73-97, esp. 88-97.
[97] Karlsruhe B 4, volute-krater, follower of the Lycurgus Painter, *ca*. 360. *RVAp* 431, no. 9/38, pl. 160,1. Trendall 1989, ill. 151. Munich 3297, volute krater by the Underworld Painter, *ca*. 330-320. *RVAp* II 533, no. 18/282, pl. 194; Trendall 1989, ill. 209.
[98] See **[Cat. 8]**.
[99] Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 84 AE 996, amphora by the Metope Group, *ca*. 350-340. Trendall 1989, ill. 182. See **[Cat. 23]**.
[100] Naples 3254. *RVAp* II 495, no. 18/38, pl. 176, 1; Trendall 1989, ill. 204.

painted in white, thus replicating the marble or limestone of the funerary monuments of which fragments have been found in Taranto.[101]

Towards the end of the fourth century BC, the quality of the paintings on Apulian vases, as well as their number, decreases considerably. This was due to their wide availability, which made the vases accessible to less prosperous social groups, a phenomenon that has been acknowledged as the first craft production for the masses in antiquity.[102] Gradually, red-figure pottery and monumental shapes started to disappear from the grave goods and they were replaced by plain ceramics and vases in the Gnathia style.

2.2. Tomb painting

2.2.1. Chronology, typology and decoration

The number of Apulian tomb paintings is considerably smaller than the number of Etruscan examples. Rare examples are dated to the fifth century BC, but there are more painted tombs dated to the fourth century BC and later.[103] Most of them have plastered walls painted with horizontal lines in red or black and only occasionally they show figured decoration as seen, for example, in the riders depicted in Tomb 1/1974 at Gravina, which follow similar patterns to painted tombs at Taranto and particularly in Paestum.[104]

Within this limited archaeological evidence, a tomb decorated with a frieze of dancers from Ruvo and now in Naples is unique. This chamber tomb dated to the first half of the fourth century BC still has vivid colours and the figures are realistically

[101] Carter 1975, 14-16. There are scarce traces of naiskos-type tombs in Apulia; one exception may be constituted by section 4 of Tomb 46 from Strada San Stefano at Gravina; see Ciancio 1997, 274.
[102] Ciancio 2014, 152.
[103] See Gadaleta 2002.
[104] See Ciancio 1997; Pontrandolfo *et al.* 2004. For the structure of painted tombs in Peucetia, see Gadaleta 2010, 251-263.

rendered, as if they were dancing around the deceased.[105] We have more evidence from the Daunian region: here, painted tombs with elaborated compositions have been found in Canosa which, in a way, are closer in style and subject-matter to Etruscan tomb painting of the second half of the fourth century BC. In this regard, the Tomb of the Cerberus (discussed below in more detail), represents a good example of the elites' concern with the afterlife.[106]

The following selected case studies from Peucetia and Daunia aim at illustrating how Greek myths appear in funerary *corredi* at different stages of Apulian red-figure vases and tomb-painting.

3. Regional case studies

3.1. Peucetia

Fourth-century BC cemeteries in the Peucetian region show continuity from the previous century. Burials often appear in the same sites, and the deceased is usually laid out in the contracted position.[107] As previously noted, the nature of the *corredo* changes after the second quarter of the century where we can see an increase in local pottery and a decrease in the deposition of metallic vessels and weaponry.[108] The Peucetian tomb-groups discussed in this section originate from two different sites: Gravina and Ruvo. The two tombs from Gravina provide some examples of late fifth- and early fourth-century BC vases gathered in the same tomb. The tomb-group from Ruvo was selected because it illustrates particularly well some current problems of interpretations that are to some extent valid in interpreting other tombs in that area.

[105] For a graphic reconstruction of the tomb, see Todisco 2004 and 2005.
[106] See Steingräber 2008.
[107] Ciancio 1997, 69.
[108] However, Tomb 10 in Villagio del Fanciullo at Conversano contained three vases by the Darius Painter and a warrior's full amour constituting an unique case in Peucetia for the second half of the fourth century BC. The armour was found in the tomb's external compartment, thus suggesting that it was not worn by the deceased at the time of his burial. See Ciancio 2014, 162-164.

3.1.1. Gravina

Gravina (ancient Silbion) was located in an important strategic site between Lucania and central Peucetia.[109] Of significance is the archaeological research carried out in the area by Ciancio, which has revealed a rich group of tombs. Two tomb groups from Gravina illustrate how Greek myths appear on early Apulian red-figure vase painting destined for the tomb in the last decades of the fifth and early fourth century BC.

Four vessels, three Apulian **[Cat. 1]**, **[Cat. 3]**, **[Cat. 5]** and two Attic **[Cat. 2]**, **[Cat. 4]** found in Tomb 1/1974 show depictions of myth.[110] This was a chamber tomb (4.15 x 1.63 x 1.94 m) with a *dromos*. The walls were decorated with black and red painted lines on which a horse rider and a horse were also depicted (Figs. 5-7).[111] It contained Attic vases (three kylikai, one lekanis, one kantharos, one oinochoe, two red-figure oinochoai and one black glazed oinochoe), as well as Early Lucanian and Apulian vases (a nestoris, a volute krater and five panathenaic amphorae).[112] Among the latter, the four vessels decorated with myths display special iconographic choices (Fig. 8).[113] The grave has been thought to be of a man, but a closer look at the images on the vases shows an emphasis on the feminine.[114]

The most elaborately decorated vase of this tomb **[Cat. 1]** presents complex narratives and themes that are not always easy to interpret (Fig. 9).[115] On the neck is represented the battle between Greeks and Amazons (Fig. 10). The Amazons are dressed in an oriental costume with Phrygian caps and they carry the traditional *pelta*. On the other side of the neck appears the tragic end of Actaeon (Figs. 12-13). The scene represents the young man at the moment in which Artemis commands his dogs to attack their own master: he is naked with an animal skin around his arm while trying to

[109] Ciancio 1997, 181.
[110] Ciancio 1997, 73; Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009, 125.
[111] The rider motif is also found in tombs from Arpi and in the Paestan and Campanian areas; see Pontrandolfo *et al.* 2004, 33-34, 59-69; figs. 28-29, 64, 67.
[112] For details of the *corredo*, see Ciancio 1997, 182-186.
[113] Ricciardi 1989, 73 fig. 50; Ciancio 1997, 73; Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009, 125.
[114] Mugione 2002, 91-99.
[115] *RVAp* I, 30-32.

protect himself from the dogs with his sword. The horn on the hero's forehead foretells his metamorphosis into a deer.

The interpretation of the main scene on the body of this vase is more complex (Fig. 11). It is divided into two registers. The upper register shows a bearded man, sitting on a *diphros* with his torso naked and legs wrapped in a mantle. Next to him, a richly dressed male figure holding a sceptre is sitting on a *kline* on which there is another young man who is holding his hand. To their left are standing two naked young men, one of them in the frontal position while the other one is in profile holding a strigil in his hand. Next, there is a woman dressed in a chiton, himation and jewellery. To the right of the group there are two naked young male figures; one of them leads a horse and is armed with a spear. Another scene appears on the lower register and shows an erotic scene of two lovers observed by a female figure. She is richly dressed and holds a mirror while being surrounded by Erotes carrying garlands and crowns. To the left, taking up the height of both scenes, is a column on a square base with Ionic capital supporting a statuette of Eros. A woman and a naked man lift stools up a ladder set against the left side of the column. At the bottom of the ladder, over a long undulating surface, sits a sphinx.

If the upper register shows a banquet with the most important guests on the middle of the *kline* and the man sitting on the *diphros* being the host, then the three main figures could be Paris, Aeneas and Menelaus. If this is correct, the scene may refer to the episode where the Spartan king welcomes Paris into the city, thus enabling his inevitable encounter with Helen. In the trip to Sparta, Aeneas accompanies Paris, according to the wish of the goddess Aphrodite, Aeneas' mother and Paris' protector. In this scene Aeneas would be the other figure on the *kline*, who makes a protective gesture to Paris who is sitting next to him. Additionally, the story tells us that the Dioscuri – brothers and protectors of Helen – also participated in the banquet and therefore they may be represented by the two male figures on the right. However, there is only one horse. To the left, Helen moves her veil in a seductive gesture. Following this

reading, the scene further left may indicate the preparation of a ship for departure (the undulated surface might represent the prow), and the erotic scene to the bottom right may show the encounter between Helen and Paris, observed by Aphrodite.[116] Schmidt has proposed a different reading for the scene which is less accepted among scholars but worthy of consideration: the visit of the Argonauts to Lemnos, in queen Hypsipyle's house.[117] This view – supported by the Pindaric tradition and other sources – sees the bearded man seating on the *diphros* as Mopsos, while the figures on the *kline* would be Hypsipyle and Iason. Accordingly, the female figure on the upper register would be Medea who looks at the couple with jealousy.[118] Although there are no iconographic parallels for this subject, the interpretation that sees the scene as Paris and Helen as depicted on this volute-krater does not find them either. Scenes of the encounter of Paris and Helen in Sparta are numerous in both Attic and Apulian painted ceramics but they show fewer figures and completely diverse schemes. The closest parallel to our scene is depicted on a Lucanian *nestoris* by the Dolon Painter (390-380 BC) from Basilicata with Paris presenting himself in front of a seated Helen and Aeneas (?) seconded by two horses, one of them ridden by Aeneas (?).[119]

The idea that **[Cat. 1]** probably represents the encounter between Paris and Helen can be further supported by considering two vessels in this tomb that show other stories related to the sack of Troy. For example, the Attic red-figure kantharos **[Cat. 2]** illustrates the departure of Hektor on one side, while the other shows the episode in which Menelaus and Odysseus go to Troy to ask for Helen, accompanied by Antenor, Priam's counsellor (Figs. 18-19). Following the sequence of events, **[Cat. 3]** features a later episode divided into two registers. On the upper one is Electra sitting on Agamemnon's tomb, which is surmounted by an Ionic column (Figs. 16-17). To the left of the scene is Orestes with another warrior (Pylades?) who has left his shield on the

[116] See Ciancio 1997, 101.
[117] Schmidt 1979, 211-215; Ciancio 1997, 90-101; Mugione 2002, 95.
[118] Pind. IV *Pitica* 185 ff., 251 ff.; Mirsilo of Lesbos, *Frag. Hist.* 477 F1.
[119] London, BM F175; *LCS* 103, 529; *LIMC*, Helene, no. 73.

ground. The scene represents the moment in which Orestes and Electra meet at their father's tomb.[120]

The presence of the Dioscuri on this volute-krater relates the depiction on side A with that on the reverse showing the hunt of the Calydonian boar, in which the two brothers participated along with the hero Meleager (Fig. 14).[121] By looking at the subjects on both sides of **[Cat. 1]**, it is possible to observe that the association of both episodes, namely Menelaus, Paris and Helen with the Dioscuri on the one hand, and the Calydonian hunt scene on the other, is also found in other media, such as on Etruscan mirrors.[122] In addition, the twins are also represented on the fragmented lid of the Attic red-figure lekanis by the Achilles Painter showing the rape of the Leucippidai **[Cat. 4]**, which depicts them taking part in another mythic episode.

A different myth is depicted on the body of **[Cat. 5]**. The central figure shows Bellerophon mounted on Pegasus (Fig. 15). To judge by the woman depicted on the bottom left, the scene may represent the episode in which the hero manages to escape from the queen Stheneboea by falling into the sea as told in a lost tragedy by Euripides of the same name.[123] To the left of the scene stands Aphrodite with Eros while Poseidon and Triton appear to the right. The sea is represented by various fish, among which two dolphins and a squid are depicted.

Tomb 21/1990 is another tomb found in Vito Vecchio in the Gravina area (Fig. 20). It revealed a pit-grave with a *corredo* composed of 23 local vessels and an iron spear, which were placed to the left of the skeleton (Fig. 21). Among the vases (dated 400-375 BC) only one has figured decoration and was deposited on the feet of the deceased **[Cat. 6]**. This is an Apulian red-figure bell-krater and shows an episode not widely diffused in Magna Graecia, which is charged with a strong eschatological value.

[120] Aesch. *Lib*. 205-33. Compare the scene with the Lucanian red-figure amphora of Panathenaic shape in Naples (H 1775), *ca*. 380. See Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009, 117.
[121] See Schnapp 1997.
[122] *ES* pl. 355; Ciancio 1997, 101.
[123] Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009, 126.

Heracles, after capturing Cerberus, presents himself in front of Hades and Persephone, thereby proving himself worthy of deification (Fig. 22).

3.1.2. Ruvo

The majority of Apulian red-figure vases come from Ruvo. As mentioned earlier, Montanaro has attempted to put the grave goods of hundreds of tombs from Ruvo back together.[124] Thanks to his efforts, a clearer picture of the nature of the funerary *corredi* from Ruvo has emerged.

Tomb 55/1836 was found near the Porta San Angelo, not far from the city (Fig. 23). It was a chamber tomb (3.71 x 1.32 x 1.19 m) decorated with red and blue parallel lines on its walls (Fig. 23). The tomb's *corredo* was composed of iron candelabra, a broken iron tripod and nearly thirty vases of monochrome and Gnathia types, as well as red-figure vases in various shapes. Apart from a loutrophoros, these are all associated with sympotic wares (Fig. 24). The finds were taken to the Real Museo Borbonico in Naples, as attested by documents of this period.[125] From the tomb-group, two pelikai, two skyphoi and a calyx-krater were sold in the market. The last one was acquired by the Hermitage Museum and then transferred to the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts. Among the vases in the red-figure technique, five show mythological subjects that have been dated 360-340 BC.

The body of the volute-krater by the Ilioupersis Painter (360-350 BC) represents the encounter of Orestes with Iphigenia at Tauris, probably informed by Euripides' tragedy **[Cat. 7]**.[126] The scene on the body is divided into two registers: on the lower are a meditative Pylades and a downhearted Orestes seated on the altar, separated by a laurel tree (Figs. 25-27). Iphigenia approaches from the right side with the temple key in her hand and wears an ornate garment, demonstrating her duty as priestess. She is accompanied by an (unnamed) female figure carrying a *patera* over her head. The

[124] Montanaro 2007.
[125] For a discussion of the excavation reports, see Montanaro 2007, 358.
[126] Eur. *IT*, 769 ff. Taplin 2007, 150. Cambitoglou (1975, 59), however, doubts that the scene is influenced by a stage performance of the play. More recently, see Carpenter 2014, 273.

names of Pylades (*ΠΥΛΑΔΗΣ*), Orestes (*ΟΡΕΣΤΑΣ*), and Iphigenia (*ΙΦΙΓΕΝΕΙΑ*) are inscribed next to each figure.[127] Above, Apollo and Artemis are looking at each other while sitting next to an Ionic temple with half-open doors. The treatment of the same subject is different on the calyx-krater attributed to the Group of Iphigeneia (350-340 BC), representing the moment in which Iphigenia asks Pylades to take a letter to Argos **[Cat. 11]**. This time, she is inside the temple next to an Archaic-looking cult statue of Artemis, while holding the letter that will precipitate the recognition between brother and sister (Figs. 33-34). Pylades speaks to her from outside the temple, as seen by the typical gesture of the hands, and he is dressed for travel, with *petasos*, cloak, stick and sword.[128] To the right, a seated Artemis holding a couple of spears looks back to Apollo. An ox skull is depicted on each side of the temple. A calyx-krater in Ferrara by the Iphigenia Painter and another bell-krater in Virginia by the Painter of Boston show the same subjects related to the recognition scene in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*.[129] Considering that the subject of Iphigenia at Tauris appears twice among the five vases painted with mythological scenes from Tomb 55/1836, this may suggest a link to a more universal theme of the encounter between brother and sister or between two relatives in the hereafter. In fact, on the back of **[Cat. 7]** two couples are depicted, one pair holding hands. In addition, we should also consider the fact that Iphigenia was saved from death by the gods.

Another idea underlies the depictions of myth on the lekythos **[Cat. 8]**, the situla **[Cat. 9]**, and on the lower frieze of the loutrophoros **[Cat. 10]**, which is associated with Greek heroes and their deeds. The scene on **[Cat. 8]** attributed to the Lycurgus Painter (350-340 BC) shows Heracles and his nephew Iolaos in the Garden of the Hesperides, Heracles' eleventh labour (Figs. 28-29). Although versions of the story tells us that Heracles deceived Atlas into obtaining some of the golden apples for him by offering to

[127] Note the spelling of Orestes, with the alpha instead of eta typical of the Doric dialect.
[128] Trendall and Webster 1971, iII. 3, 30.
[129] Ferrara T1145 (3032), *ca*. 380 BC, and Virginia, private collection 22 (V9105), *ca*. 350 BC. See Taplin 2007, nos. 48-49 respectively.

bear the weight of heaven for a period, the depiction on the lekythos seems to represent another version of the story, where Heracles was the only person to steal the apples. In the middle stands the tree with its golden apples, guarded by the sleepless serpent. On the left side a seated nymph holds a *patera*, while another offers Heracles a blossoming branch. A cat attempting to climb the tree and a box are also part of the scene. Likewise, the lower register of the situla, also by the Lycurgus Painter, depicts the story of other Greek heroes: Odysseus and Diomedes stealing the horses of Rhesos **[Cat. 9]**. Odysseus is depicted taking Rhesos' horses out of the Thracian camp, closely followed by Diomedes after having killed the oriental-looking Thracian soldiers in their sleep, as seen on the upper register (Fig. 30). The illustration may have been inspired either by the story of *Iliad*, or by the tragedy *Rhesos*, written by an anonymous author.[130] Leaving literary connections aside, **[Cat. 9]** shows the hero accompanied by a relative or friend who contributes to the success of his task. This might be further emphasised if we consider the role of Pylades on **[Cat. 8]**, as the common version of the story does not include him assisting Heracles in his final mission. Nonetheless, his presence in the scene does not seem to interfere with the story.

The case of the main hero fighting the Amazons depicted on the loutrophoros attributed to the Group of Ruvo 423 (350-340 BC) is more complex **[Cat. 10]**. The Amazons wear crested helmets and they are dressed either in short chiton or in the oriental fashion with trousers and sleeves (Fig. 33). They fight on foot and on horseback, and are armed with spears, bows and arrows. They carry smaller shields than their opponents, but not the traditional moon-shaped shield or *pelta*. Their opponents fight naked and are armed with swords, spears and shields – although one of them is dressed in a local garment wearing a piece of cloth that looks like as a very short, belted *chitoniskos*. The absence of Heracles suggests that this may be either the Trojan or the Amazonomachy with Theseus. However, it is possible that it is neither of them and that the meaning of the myth could have been modified in order to suit new

[130] Hom. *Il.* 10.488-502; Eur. *Rh.* 622-26. See Taplin 2007, 161.

purposes among the locals. On this matter, the depiction of the warrior in local costumes may be indicative of a local hero/version of the myth (Fig. 34).[131] Additionally, the presence of such a combat scene on this loutrophoros – a shape used to carry water either for the bridal bath or for washing the body of the dead – is peculiar. Most commonly in a funerary context, this shape would have a depiction of a human figure inside a *naiskos* with the image of other loutrophoroi as seen on depictions by the Metope Group and by the Painter of Louvre *MNB* 1148 respectively.[132]

Finally, what is common to all the depictions of mythological subjects in this tomb-group is the juxtaposition of conflict, war and violence with peaceful **[Cat. 7]** or festive scenes, the latter usually connected to Dionysos. For example, on **[Cat. 10]** the god appears holding a *thyrsos* next to a richly dressed Ariadne, both seated on a *kline* under pendant grapes. To their right, a satyr approaches the couple, carrying a garland, while some female figures play instruments or simply enjoy the gathering. A similar scene is depicted on the back side of **[Cat. 9]** and **[Cat. 11]**, on which the god and satyrs appear. This is further emphasised by another vase from this tomb, which is shaped in the figure of a recumbent Silenus.[133]

3.2. Daunia

In recent decades, the archaeological record found in the Daunian region has revealed important links between the uses of Greek myth and the local funerary ideology particularly in Arpi, Canosa and Salapia.[134] This phenomenon seems to have gone hand in hand with a privileged economic status, sometimes highlighted by the adoption of architectural complexes, as seen by the presence of rich tombs and hypogea.

Throughout the fourth century BC, the north Apulian region of Daunia witnesses some cultural changes that are acknowledged by both literary sources and the

[131] For warriors in local costumes, see *RVAp* I 357, no. 13/197, pl. 113, 3; *RVAp* II, 744, no. 23/179, pl. 277, 5; Trendall 1989, figs. 175 and 232.
[132] American private coll. *RVAp Supp*. I 72, no. 18/16e, pl. X, 4; Trendall 1989, ill. 181. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 82 AE 16. *RVAp Supp*. I 100, no. 20/287a; Trendall 1989, ill. 183.
[133] Naples, Inv. 81768 (H. 3002). See Montanaro 2007, 365, fig. 244.
[134] Steingräber 2008, 190.

archaeological record. During this period, it is possible to observe the diffusion of Greek cultural models that, as in Peucetia, seem to have been adopted from Taranto. In addition, the chronological framework of these changes in the second half of the century is reinforced by some events: firstly, the arrival of Alexander the Molossian,[135] whose campaigns in Apulia may provide a historical background for the works by the Darius Painter;[136] secondly, the intrusion of Rome during the last decades of the century and her attempt to penetrate the whole region may explain the variations in the distribution and fortification of urban centres.[137] In what follows, I will introduce the predominant grave types in fourth-century BC Daunia and explain their relevance for the cultural shifts mentioned above.

The most common type of grave during this century were individual pit tombs covered with slabs of stone, as well as cave tombs accessible through a *dromos* in which numerous depositions have been found. Less common are semi-chamber and chamber tombs; the latter type are sometimes found in hypogea.[138] In addition to the more widespread custom of mythological depictions on vases, a wall painting adds to the range of myth in other media.

3.2.1. Arpi

Close from modern Foggia was Arpi, an ancient city that enjoyed prosperity between the late fourth and the second centuries BC, and its foundation was attributed to the Greek hero Diomedes. The intervention of Rome is noteworthy in Daunia after an early alliance with Arpi against the Sammnites in 326 BC and the capitulation of Canosa (*Canusium)* and Tiati in 318 BC.[139] This may have influenced not only politics and military aspects, but also the cultural sphere. On this matter, polychrome vases with battle scenes from Arpi perhaps allude to the Sammnite Wars (325-304 BC).[140]

[135] Liv. 8.24; Strab. 6.3.4. See Mazzei 1995, 55-56.
[136] See Pouzadoux 2008, 205-217.
[137] Mazzei and Lippolis 1984, 185.
[138] Mazzei 1995, 54, 181-183.
[139] Liv. 8, 25, 3; 27, 2-3. See De Juliis 1992a, 6.
[140] See Mazzei 1987, 167-188.

Thanks to the archaeological investigations by De Juliis and Mazzei in the area, we know of a series of chamber tombs, some of them richly decorated and found with numerous grave goods dated to this period.[141] Among them is Tomb 13/1972, also known as the Tomb of the Niobids' Vase, named in this way after an Apulian red-figure hydria with a vivid depiction of the death of the Niobids that was found among its rich *corredo* (Figs. 35-36). The tomb was composed of a single rectangular structure (6 x 3 x 2.50 m) with a southern entrance and a *dromos* of 3.76 metres length (Fig. 37). The remains of an adult male inhumation were found inside surrounded by a large number of vases of different types, which were taken to Foggia's Museo Civico. Part of the material from the grave is currently on display there. The excavation, nonetheless, began clandestinely until it was properly conducted by De Juliis in 1972. This, of course, leaves open the question about the nature of the original *corredo* – whether there were other valuable items such as bronze objects, pieces of jewellery or other vases that could have been taken away in the process. Nevertheless, the remaining materials in combination with the architectural complex distinguish the finds as the first elite tomb discovered at Arpi (all the preceding ones were relatively modest in appearance and furnishing).[142] In addition, the paintings on some of the Apulian red-figure vases found in this tomb revealed a new artistic personality: the so-called Arpi Painter (320-300 BC), who worked in this region and exclusively for Arpian clients.[143] Moreover, the Baltimore Painter and his followers (330-310 BC), who seem to have been settled in Canosa, produced a large number of vases that ended up in this tomb as well.[144]

Its finds show evidence of a variation in iconography and subjects alongside a freer, more spontaneous style, particularly on the depictions of the locally-made vases. In this regard, the changing situation of Arpi, where Greek and Roman models converged during the late fourth and early third centuries BC, is not only represented by

[141] Mazzei 1995; De Juliis 1992 and 2002.
[142] De Juliis 1992a, 5.
[143] Mazzei 1999, 475; Todisco 2008b, 233. However, a phiale painted by one of his followers ended up in a tomb in Canosa. See **[Cat. 22]**.
[144] De Juliis 1992a, 169; E. G. Robinson 1990b, 181-183; Todisco and Volpe 1992, 28.

the objects found in this tomb, but also by those placed in other tombs of this period.[145] Fifty-nine out of 162 vases found in this tomb were made in the red-figure technique, of which only seven, together with fragments of two other vases, show mythological subjects (Fig. 37). As a set, these vases present larger sizes and more varied shapes than those, for example, from Tomb 55 in Ruvo.

It has been argued that the depiction on the neck of an Apulian red-figure column-krater by the Baltimore Painter (*ca*. 320 BC) confirms the existence in the Italic sphere of a close connection between Dionysos, the oriental dance called *oklasma* and romantic/love affairs **[Cat. 12]**.[146] This depiction shows, from left to right, Silenus carrying a torch and a maenad in Phrygian clothes dancing the *oklasma,* as indicated by the gesture of holding her hands above her head (Fig. 38). Adjacent to her, a female musician sits on a folding stool and plays the *aulos*, while a naked youth rests on a pilaster. The main scene on the krater's body, therefore, probably represents the arrival of Paris in Sparta and his encounter with Helen.[147] According to Todisco, the scene on the neck hints at the eastern origin of both the dance and Paris depicted on the body, who wears a Phrygian helmet. His notion is supported by the presence of Dionysos and Eros respectively. Furthermore, he argues that the encounter between Paris and Helen may be a visual code for the confrontation between Greece and the East, or between civilisation and barbarism.[148]

Other vases from this tomb-group also show mythological scenes mostly associated with love affairs, sometimes observed by the Olympic gods from an upper register. For example, on the lower register of an Apulian red-figure volute-krater, also by the Baltimore Painter **[Cat. 13]**, Dionysos and Ariadne appear on a lion-drawn chariot, preceded by a satyr and followed by a dancing Maenad (Figs. 39-40). A winged

[145] For example, *Tomba della Medusa;* see Mazzei 1995.
[146] Todisco 2008b, 233-236. For the dance, see Ar. *Fr*. 344b.
[147] *RVAp* II, 870, no. 50.
[148] "... *l'oklasma* si inseriva in rapporto all'espressione simbolica dell'incontro-scontro tra Grecia e Oriente, ovvero della superiorita della civilita occidentale sull'alterita barbarica, attraverso la saga di Elena e Paride" (Todisco 2008b, 236).

Nike holding a patera and a seated dog accompany them. The Olympic gods on the upper register watch the group from above. In the centre, is a draped female figure wearing a crown and sceptre (Hera). To her right Zeus is seated on his throne with sceptre and thunderbolt, seconded by Hermes, Eros and Aphrodite. Apollo stands to the left of Hera with the bow, the quiver and a branch of laurel, Artemis stands in profile, with her javelins and quiver and two stars are visible over their heads. Further to the left, a semi-naked youth rests on a tree, holding panpipes (Pan). The krater's neck is decorated with a couple of Erotes each riding a panther and holding a *patera.* A bird with a garland flies between them.

The same subjects are depicted on another volute krater by the same painter on the lower register of **[Cat. 14]**, which shows Dionysos and Ariadne, this time on a panther-drawn chariot – a motif that also appears on **[Cat. 20]** – preceded by a dancing Maenad playing a *tympanon* and followed by another one carrying a torch and a situla (Fig. 41). The upper scene shows an assembly of the gods in the Olympus: Aphrodite is seated under an umbrella next to a masculine figure holding a branch of laurel and a lyre (Apollo). Athena, armed with a helmet, a shield and a spear, stands next to a masculine figure with the sceptre and a thunderbolt on his feet (Zeus). To the far right, a winged figure carrying a *caduceus* perhaps signifies Iris. A *bucranium* is displayed above Apollo, and a living deer below him. The shoulder of a fragmented hydria, again by the Baltimore Painter **[Cat. 15]** functions as a further example, which also depicts a group of divinities (Fig. 42). In the centre, a male and a female figure stand on a quadriga. On the left of the chariot there is a female figure holding arrows (Artemis), while Apollo is next to a swan, holding a branch of laurel. On the right stands a masculine figure with winged feet (Hermes), a seated female figure armed with a shield and a spear (Athena), and a female figure carrying two torches (Hecate). The body of this hydria is decorated with the image of Eros – whose protruding chest and knotted hair looks androgynous to the modern eye –among other figures.

Although the setting is the same, a different scene takes place on an Apulian red-figure hydria by the Arpi Painter **[Cat. 18]**. This time the Olympic gods are not merely observing the actions taking place below them, but taking part in them. The upper register recounts the story of the freeing of Hera, who is seated on the magical throne given to her by her deplored son Hephaestus (Fig. 45). A proportionally smaller, bearded Hephaestus stands in front of her, holding a hammer and ready to liberate her. He looks towards the figure at his back, Zeus, as to be certain of the prize he will receive when freeing his mother: Aphrodite's hand in marriage (Fig. 47). Aphrodite stands to Hera's right, holding a bird on her left hand. Ares and a female figure of uncertain identity stand next to her.[149] Above them an androgynous Eros and two *bucrania* are depicted. On the other side of this amphora, a satyr resting one foot over a rock and holding grapes is accompanied by female figures. Some of them play instruments or carry vessels of different shapes. There is a standing woman amongst them who has long hair (Persephone?), and holds a ball and a branch with round fruits.[150] The lower register shows Eros wearing the hair net for women (*kekryphalos*), a collar, and a diadem, while holding a *tympanon.* He is surrounded by female figures which also carry musical instruments and vases of different shapes. Dionysos appears reclined over two pillows holding an oinochoe and a kantharos*.* He is accompanied by some female draped figures.

Several depictions on **[Cat. 14]**, **[Cat. 18]** and the fragments of volute-kraters by the Baltimore and Arpi Painters show Amazonomachies (**[Cat. 16]** and **[Cat. 17]** respectively). On **[Cat. 14],** Amazons are depicted on horseback and on foot wearing the traditional pointed cap (Fig. 46). Neither of the two amazons that have survived on the krater's neck wears the belted chiton pinned over both shoulders, but some kind of skirt. Their upper torsos are naked. While the mounted Amazon is armed with an axe and *pelta,* which has fallen onto the ground, the other one fights with a sword. The

[149] De Juliis (1992a, 57) suggests Peitho.
[150] De Juliis 1992a, 57.

fragmentary state of the neck, however, does not allow us to identify the specific type of Amazonomachy. By contrast, Amazons on **[Cat. 16]**, **[Cat. 17]** and **[Cat. 18]** are dressed in oriental costumes with trousers and sleeves, although they also wear pointed caps (Figs. 43-44). Some appear on horseback attacking a warrior either with a spear **[Cat. 16]** or an axe **[Cat. 14]**. An Amazon's fallen *pelta* on **[Cat. 16]** has a depiction of the Gorgon's head. On **[Cat. 18]**, two Amazons armed with axes and shields have just dismounted their horses, prompted to attack a fully armed warrior (Fig. 46). The latter penetrates the chest of one of the Amazon's horses with his sword. None of these Amazonomachies are identifiable.

The subject depicted on an Apulian red-figure hydria by the Arpi Painter **[Cat. 19]** is certainly the most dramatic of the scenes on the red-figured vases of this tomb. It shows the slaughter of the Niobids by Artemis and Apollo possibly as narrated in Sophocles' tragedy (Fig. 48).[151] They are shown in contorted poses or in agony, indicated by their tormented expressions. On the neck, a young Niobid wearing a short chiton and himation drags another, naked Niobid over her mantle. Furthermore, a fallen naked Niobid lies under a running horse with a mantle between her legs. Apollo, accompanied by a dog, directs his arrows towards the group, while Artemis, to his right, aims at the group below (Fig. 49). Next to her, a wounded Niobid on horseback wears a belted indigenous garment.[152] Under the rain of arrows unleashed by Artemis from above, a richly dressed woman runs to the left with arms wide open; another female is down on her knees next to the corpse of her sister. Finding refuge at an altar, a Niobid in a supplicant position and wearing a chiton with long sleeves has been identified as Niobe,[153] while further to the right a Niobid attempts to avoid the arrows by covering herself with her mantle (Fig. 50). The lower register of the hydria, by contrast, shows Eros, a satyr playing double pipes and female figures holding mirrors and boxes.

[151] Mazzei 1999, 475. On the diffusion of the myth on vase-painting in the region of Daunia, *Ibid*. 471-473.
[152] Todisco 2008, 24.
[153] *Ibid*. 44.

The subject of the death of the Niobids also occurs, for instance, on a volute-krater in the Jatta collection at Ruvo.[154] As far as we know, there are nine Apulian vases that portray Niobe, five of which have no context.[155] Additionally, the presence of plaques showing Niobids suggests the existence of a lost version of the subject in a bigger scale.[156] Nevertheless, some interpretations that suggest that the popularity of the myth may be connected to the death of some local women associated with a certain religious cult do not seem likely.[157] What is peculiar about the depiction on this vase is the fact that it shows only Niobe's daughters and there is not a single son. Again, as in the case of **[Cat. 10]** discussed above, this variation could be based on a local version of the myth, or individually 'adapted' by the painter for some particular reason that remains uncertain to us.

The allusion to Dionysos appears repeatedly on the vases of this tomb's *corredo,* and it is usually connected with love affairs, represented by the presence of an androgynous Eros, Dionysos and Ariadne and, sometimes, by birds.[158] Trendall argues that Dionysos offered his initiates 'a better life in the hereafter, where he will be in mystic communion with them'.[159] However, in the discussion about the possibility of some sort of Dionysian cult in Apulia connected to the 'mysteries', I concur with Carpenter that there is no evidence for this.[160] Instead, Dionysian scenes in juxtaposition with tragedy may be intended to illustrate the contrast between joy and sorrow, or between life and death. The latter may be further emphasised by the presence of the immortal gods in Olympus, as well as by the juxtaposition of *bucrania* with living animals or figures. Additionally, wild nature is illustrated by depictions of running animals, such as the hare and the horse on the neck of **[Cat. 19]**.[161] Furthermore, it has been stated that the

[154] Ruvo 424.
[155] Canosa, 2 (Varrese Painter); Ruvo, 1 (Baltimore Painter); Arpi, 1 (Arpi Painter). See Mazzei 1999, 472.
[156] Oliver 1968, 17-18.
[157] Keuls 1978, 41-68; Mazzei 1999, 473.
[158] De Juliis 1992a, 125-128; Todisco 2008b, 239.
[159] Trendall 1989, 256.
[160] Carpenter 2009a.
[161] Horses had a special importance in Daunia, as revealed by finds of them in tombs. See

various Amazonomachies depicted on the Apulian vases of this period could refer – following the Greek tradition – to the conflicts experienced by the inhabitants of Arpi during the Samnite War mentioned above, as well as being inspired by the combat scenes depicted on local polychrome vases.[162] By the end of the fourth century BC notwithstanding, the Amazonomachy was probably a well-known subject, the presence of which in South Italy could be traced back to Early Apulian and Attic vase-painting. Further allusions to the East in the vases of this Arpian tomb-group, as seen in the Amazons' garments and the dance depicted on **[Cat. 12]**, may suggest an Arpian taste for exotica.

The depiction on the oinochoe by the Darius Painter (340-320 BC) is more difficult to interpret **[Cat. 20]**. It illustrates a panther-drawn chariot driven by a male and a female figure (their heads are no longer visible). To the right, a mantled female figure stands holding an infant, who seems to be offered to the couple in the chariot (Fig. 51). An armed, male figure approached from the right, as if trying to stop the action depicted in the centre of the vase. The scene has no iconographic parallels and illustrates an unknown subject, probably mythological.

3.2.2. Canosa

Canosa was the most important centre in Daunia (Fig. 52). Several tombs contain large number of vases and precious objects. Perhaps the most important ones are the tomb groups with vases by the Darius Painter, found in a tomb that contained both the famous 'Persian' volute-krater and another volute-krater portraying the funeral of Patroclus, which today is in Naples.[163] Another tomb group today in Berlin is said to come from Canosa. It also contains vases by the Darius Painter and, according to their shapes, they were displayed in pairs; due to this, Giuliani calls them 'twin vases'.[164] Unfortunately, we are not sure about the complete *corredi* of these tombs in order to

Todisco 2008, 45, n. 166.

[162] Mazzei 1999, 475-477;

[163] Boardman 2005, 134-139; Carpenter 2009b; Pouzadoux 2008; *Ead*. 2013, 255 ff.

[164] *PVI* (Giuliani), 519.

have a more accurate picture of them. However, another tomb found at Canosa in 1912, the Varrese Hypogeum, sheds light on the composition of funerary assemblages in the second half of the fourth century BC (Fig. 53).

Soon after its discovery, the tomb's goods of this 5-chambered hypogeum were stored in the museums of Bari and Taranto.[165] In the year 2000, in an effort to recover the cultural heritage of Canosa, the complete funerary assemblage from the Varrese Hypogeum was returned to Canosa and stored in the Sinesi Palace.[166] The current display of the contents of this tomb (consisting of about 400 items) is important because it give us the very rare opportunity to see Apulian vases alongside its complete funerary assemblage.

Two distinct types of *corredi* have been identified for this tomb. The one that was sent to Taranto, rich in red-figure vases, is dated around the mid-fourth century BC (Fig. 54); while the one sent to Bari, with few vases in the red-figure technique but rich in polychrome askoi with added reliefs and weaponry, is dated between the end of the fourth and the early third centuries BC. Although there is no trace of skeletons, it is thought that the latter's group belonged to the deposition of a man found in Chamber III, while the former in Chamber I to a woman's (Fig. 63).

Among the numerous vases found in the red-figure technique mythological scenes are present, but not abundant (Fig. 55). They appear on a hydria and on a phiale, as well as on smaller shapes, like oinochoai, in the tomb-group found in Chamber I (Fig. 56). Interestingly, there is no volute-krater among the grave goods of this *corredo*. The most prominent vase in this tomb is the Apulian red-figure amphora by the Varrese Painter (360-340 BC) that shows Niobe mourning at the tomb of her children sitting between two monumental loutrophoroi **[Cat. 21]**. To her left is her father Tantalus trying to raise her spirits by gesturing with his right hand (Figs. 57-58). The

[165] Jatta 1914, 90-126; Corrente 2000, 29-30. On the discovery of the tomb, see *PIV* (Andreassi), 233-259.
[166] See Corrente 2000.

scene is surrounded by four female figures carrying instruments, boxes, mirrors and libation wares.

Two large phialai also feature depictions of myth. One by the Lampas Painter (350-325 BC) depicts Actaeon mutating into a deer **[Cat. 23]**, while he is being killed by his dogs (Fig. 59). Yet the other one by a follower of the Arpi Painter is more elaborate and shows a marked local style **[Cat. 22]**. The depiction is divided into two registers: the upper one depicts Andromeda chained to tree trunks (Fig. 60). To the left is King Cepheus, her father, and Perseus wearing a Phrygian cap and winged boots; to the right, there is woman holding an amphora. On the lower register is Niobe inside a *naiskos* in the process of turning into stone, as indicated by the white colour below her knees. To the left, her father, King Tantalus, tries to console her as in **[Cat. 21]**. To the right of the *naiskos* there is a mourning woman carrying an oinochoe.

According to subject-matter, the six oinochoai by the Baltimore Painter featuring mythical figures can be grouped in two sets of three each. One of them gathers depictions of Amazons **[Cat. 24]**, **[Cat. 25]** and **[Cat. 26]**; while the other suggests a sequence of events in connection with Heracles **[Cat. 27]**, **[Cat. 28]** and **[Cat. 29]**.

The mounted Amazon on **[Cat. 24]** is engaged in battle against a male naked figure wearing a cloak and armed with a shield (Fig. 61a). The two other oinochoai of the set depict Amazons in Thracian clothes with pointed caps. The Amazon on **[Cat. 25]**, armed with pelta and spear, stands in a relaxing pose between two female figures (Fig. 61b), whilst the Amazon on **[Cat. 26]** is seated and holds a phiale on her right hand. She is surrounded by two female figures holding a mirror and a fan, which suggests this is a toilette scene (Fig. 61c).

The other set of oinochoes, on the other hand, seems to gather three different episodes associated with Heracles. **[Cat. 27]** shows a scene in Olympus with Athena, Heracles' protector, seated between Artemis and Iris (Fig. 62a). Another scene represents Heracles' eighth labour, the capture of the man-eating mares of Diomedes **[Cat. 29]**. The story goes that on his way to find the golden apples, he is captured and

led to sacrifice in Egypt (Fig. 62b). He manages to escape after killing king Busiris, probably depicted on **[Cat. 28]**, seated and seconded by a female figure (Fig. 62c).

Another depiction of myth, unique of its kind in Apulia, appears in a different type of funerary monument: the tomb painting in the Hypogeum of the Cerberus, today located in the courtyard of a local high school (Fig. 65). The tomb was accidentally discovered in 1972 and was already deprived of its funerary equipment. This late fourth-century hypogeum was dug in clay soil – unlike other tombs in the area which are dug in the local tufa stone.[167] It consists of a downhill *dromos* (6.50 m x 1.80 m), a central antechamber (3.90 m x 2 m) closed by two slabs, and four burial chambers (Fig. 67).

The burial chamber located to the right of the entrance (3.80 m x 4 m) is painted with a badly damaged frieze representing the figure of Cerberus in the centre (Fig. 66), surrounded by other figures **[Cat. 30]**. Two human figures wear long tunics, which end in a diagonal line, thus leaving one of the calves of each figure uncovered. Two back legs of a large- hoofed animal (perhaps a horse) are visible. In the middle, Cerberus and the lower part of three male figures are portrayed: one wears a chiton and winged boots and another wears the same kind of tunic as the two first figures of the frieze (Fig. 68). Another figure dressed in a chiton is armed with a shield and spear. Finally, a horse, whose head is not preserved, is depicted standing on a dark surface. The surviving pictorial traces on **[Cat. 30]** show the use of a variety of colours: black for the outlines and pink for the body of Cerberus and the two horses, while violet is applied to the sandals (Fig. 69).

It is likely that the figure to the left of the infernal dog is Hermes *Psychopompos*. He is followed by one of the draped male figures who in turn is followed by a soldier holding a shield and spear. The two aforementioned figures wearing long tunics have been interpreted as mourners or as the parents of the deceased.[168] If this reading of the painting is correct, the scene may illustrate the means by which the deceased makes his

[167] De Juliis 1992b, 348.
[168] Mazzei 1995, 206; De Juliis 1992b, 348.

transition to the afterlife while highlighting his equestrian rank.[169] In this process, he is led by Hermes *Psychopompos*, a figure that also appears in two tombs found in Taranto and also painted on the frieze of a tomb from Lefkadia.[170] He is also depicted on a polychrome vase next to a woman, thus showing a link between the compositions of wall and vase painting.[171] In addition, the procession of figures finds its echo in a *pinax* painted on one of the walls of the antechamber of the Medusa's Tomb at Arpi, where the deceased is depicted next to a mantled male figure and a horse.[172] The depiction of Hermes is also found next to Cerberus, this time with Heracles, on a volute-krater found in the *corredo* of the Monterisi Rossignoli Hypogeum at Canosa.[173]

In most cases, the surviving funerary hypogea of the Daunian region show no decoration on the friezes placed above the chambers' entrances. However, the paintings from this tomb, as well as paintings found in other tombs in Canosa (such as the Hypogeum of Saint Agaloia and the reliefs carved on the rear wall of the Hypogeum of the Hoplite), testify to the existence of this practice in spite of this unique exemplar.[174]

The paintings of this tomb do not provide sufficient evidence for a deep knowledge of wall painting in Canosa, let alone in the Daunian region during this period in contrast to what is known about Paestan and Etruscan tomb painting. Nevertheless, the remains of the scene on **[Cat. 30]** undoubtedly prove that high quality wall painting existed in Apulia's native centres, also demonstrated by the painted frieze of dancers in the Tomb of the Dancers from Ruvo mentioned above.

[169] De Juliis 1992b, 348.
[170] For the Tarantine tombs, see Bertocchi 1964, 62-64, 86-87, figs. 39 and 67. For Lefkadia, see Petsas 1966, pls.1 and 6.
[171] Florence, private coll. See Lepore 1989, 195-199, figs. 1-2. See also Mazzei 1995, 208.
[172] Mazzei 1995.
[173] Monaco, Antikensamlungen inv. 3297; *RVAp* 18/282, 533. For the hypogeum and its *corredo*, see Mazzei 2002, 163-178.
[174] See Mazzei 1997, figures 134 and 135 respectively.

4. Discussion

In considering the wide range of subjects that appear on red-figure Apulian vases – of which our selected tomb-groups are just an example – it is clear that the artists who painted the vases (and the tomb in Canosa) were highly refined both in their techniques and in their knowledge of Greek myth. A first glance at the tomb-groups studied here indicates that, in some cases, there was some kind of concern for the selection or commission of a particular set of red-figure vases. This is the case for Tomb 1/1974 from Gravina, showing a series of episodes related to the Trojan War and of the Dioscuri, while Tomb 55/1836 from Ruvo has two kraters with the depiction of Orestes and Iphigeneia. In Daunia, the corredo found in Chamber I of the Varrese Hypogeum features Niobe mourning her children twice. On the other hand, changes in the material properties where myth appears changes throughout time. The earliest tombs discussed here demonstrate that myths appeared on both Attic and Apulian red-figure pottery of the same funerary assemblage, as seen in Tomb 1/1974 from Gravina. But reduced schemes of no more than two or three figures could also appear on the most prominent vessel of a set placed in the tomb alongside other smaller plain wares, as in **[Cat. 6],** also from Gravina.[175] By contrast, around the middle of the fourth century BC, the funerary assemblage from Ruvo shows mythical scenes depicted exclusively on Apulian red-figure vases. However, many of these tombs contain figured vases chronologically heterogeneous. Later on, the tombs from Daunia not only contain pottery in larger quantities, but they also demonstrate a marked local style and are all dated within the same time range.

The apparent conscious choices for a particular iconography and the changes observed in the media where myths appear throughout time in the tomb-groups studied here do not provide, in any case, a general picture of the situation in Apulia – a titanic task that would require a statistical analysis of all extant tomb-groups. In reality, the

[175] The funerary assemblage from Tomb 1/1993, Ruvo is chronologically heterogeneous, showing only one figured vessel (bell-krater) alongside plain wares. See Riccardi 2014, 142, fig. 6.2.

nature of Apulian funerary *corredi* is nothing but homogeneous as they display differences between regions and even between neighbouring sites. These differences, specifically observed in Late Apulian pottery, have been recently studied by Ciancio, who considered three neighbouring Peucetian sites: Bitonto, Conversano and Rutigliano. Her study shows that the explosion in demand of Apulian red-figure vases is reflected in a homogenisation of the grave goods found in the tombs of these sites. This demand was supplied by workshops focused on serial production of these vases according to the needs of each community. In this scenario, ceramics featuring complex subjects were used as tokens of financial and social distinction.[176] The necropolis at Conversano, for example, indicates a link between the red-figure vases by the Darius and the Baltimore Painter whose workshops were likely placed in Canosa.[177] Consequently, the price for these elaborated vessels would have been higher than that of the locally produced ones, as in this case they would have needed to travel a long distance (about 111 km) from the workshop to Conversano.

Concerning the question of whether there were particular iconographic choices, it is at least possible to say that from the hundreds of tomb-groups from Ruvo studied by Montanaro, only a few seem to show a preference for a particular theme. The majority of tomb-groups exhibit assorted subjects without an apparent conscious selection of specific mythical figures or episodes of myth.[178] Although claiming for special commissions is today difficult to prove, the tomb-groups studied here are important because they establish that, at least in some cases, as in T55/1836 (Ruvo), the subject-matter on the vases was not randomly chosen.[179]

It is usually claimed that subjects drawn from mythology and tragic literature were used by the Hellenised aristocracy of north-central Peucetia and Daunia in

[176] Particularly Tomb 10/1958 which include an amphora by the Darius Painter among its finds. See Ciancio 2014, 165, fig. 7.8.
[177] Ciancio 2014, 166.
[178] Montanaro 2007.
[179] This is also the case of T154 from Ruvo. Among its *corredo*, two red-figure Apulian volute-kraters featuring different episodes of Orestes and the Furies were found. See Montanaro 2007, figs. 591-592, 598.

particular by the elites of sites such as Gravina, Ceglie, Ruvo, Arpi and Canosa. Nonetheless the assumption that the Italic people and, in particular, the wealthier social groups, were 'Hellenised' has been largely based on material culture alone. This evidence does not necessarily prove that these people could, for example, speak or read Greek.

First of all, the Greeks who settled along the coast of southern Italy never penetrated further inland. Secondly, the extant epigraphic inscriptions are scarce, with just a few in Greek or Iapygian.[180] Thirdly, the fact that so many Greek myths appear on Apulian vases, including depictions of scenes inspired by tragedy, does not necessarily imply that these people embraced Greek culture and became Hellenised. Instead, some aspects of Greek culture that might have been reproduced in Apulia were conscious choices adopted by a minority to differentiate themselves in their local communities; but otherwise the epigraphic, archaeological finds and depictions of themselves on the vases show that they are clearly distinct from the Greeks in many respects. The fact that Peucetian funerary inscriptions were made exclusively in Iapygian indicates that the disposition of the elite groups to assimilate some elements of Greek culture was restricted to the grave goods, thus being a clear expression of ethnic identity.[181]

In order to understand how myths were used in the tomb context of Apulia, it is necessary to take into consideration the current debates about the different sources that may explain the wide range of mythological subjects that appear on Apulian vases. This study groups these debates around two phenomena that, in my view, seem to explain the situation: the appropriation of myth by the local aristocracies and the display of myth at funerals. The final point attempts to provide a possible explanation for the wide variety of myths depicted on Apulian vases, as well as the scene on the Tomb of the Cerberus.

[180] De Simone and Marchesini 2002; Todisco 2012, 267.
[181] On the Iapygians and their ethnic identity, including sources, see Herring 2000, 45-77.

4.1. The appropriation of Greek myth by the indigenous aristocracies of Apulia

The discussion about the sources of myth in Apulia has been a hotly contested one for the last thirty years, and it can be reduced roughly to four concepts: Attic pottery in the region, theatrical performances, literature and the practice of some kind of Orphic cult. These concepts are all significant, yet in these debates the importance of oral tradition – an aspect worthy of consideration – is frequently neglected. As our main concern here is with the myths, the following discussion will address three kinds of artistic forms by which the indigenous aristocracies appropriated them. These include: (a) depictions of myths on Attic red-figure pottery; (b) tragic performances and (c) images of myths, including tragic subjects, represented on Apulian red-figure vases.

Concerning the first, the Italic peoples had been acquiring Attic painted pottery with mythological images for a long time, first from Attica, then from Italiote sites. The heterogeneous nature of late fifth- and early fourth-century *corredi* testify to this transition where regional trade networks are sometimes reflected into the funerary assemblages. For example, as mentioned earlier, the Gravina red-figure material from Tomb 1/1974 shows a mixed *corredo* which includes vases of Attic (**[Cat. 2]** and **[Cat. 4]**), Apulian (**[Cat. 1]**, **[Cat. 3]** and **[Cat. 5]**) and Lucanian manufacture (a *nestoris*). This illustrates the eclectic cultural environment of a site positioned on a major route between Metaponto and central Peucetia. In addition, the qualitative level of the objects and the tomb itself may be taken as further confirmation of the prosperity of this hinterland site, a phenomenon also observed in nearby areas.[182]

Commercial transactions with Greeks settled in Italy took place at points of exchange between Taranto and Peucetia, perhaps at sanctuaries or sacred places. This is confirmed by remains of both Attic and local pottery that have been found in the borders of the Greek cities' *chora*.[183] Furthermore, finds at port cities in the Adriatic such as Barletta and Andria have revealed the presence of local communities here who

[182] Botromagno I, 137-139, pl. 31.
[183] Gualtieri 1993.

probably had their own commercial networks with mainland Greece without the mediation of Taranto. These are all possible regional commercial networks through which Attic pottery was acquired by the locals. Studies have shown that from the beginning, pieces of Attic pottery were acquired by the natives as items of prestige, perhaps exchanged with the Greeks for wool or textiles.[184] Therefore we can safely assume that the images on them, including depictions of myth, were highly appreciated by the people who possessed them.

Before being deposited in the tomb, Attic vases and their images were probably displayed at symposia or at ritual ceremonies. In this way, part of the population became acquainted with the Attic visual language of myths, which later on passed onto Apulian pottery. This continuity implies that the stories depicted on the vases were familiar to both the painter and the consumer, who during their lives would have formed a 'horizon of expectations' within which old and new visual schemes of myths were interpreted.

This view, however, is too simplistic. In reality, the average local viewer's acquaintance with the iconography of myth was probably very limited. Apart from vase painting, there are no remains of pedimental sculpture or other type of public decoration featuring images of myth. This situation is different from Etruria where myths appear also on objects of domestic use such as mirrors or cistae, as we shall see in Chapter III. Although the number of figured vases in Italic sites is extensive, as is the wide variety of myths depicted on them, they all ended up in tombs. Therefore, the exposure to images was something experienced by the Apulian people only on specific occasions, such as the time of someone's death. If the deceased belonged to a prosperous family, then the mourners would have been exposed to a variety of images displayed on different shapes, including monumental ones, which would have certainly made a great impression.

As new versions of myths developed through tragedy and other literary and/or oral sources, painters had to develop new models of visual representations.

[184] Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989.

Accordingly, these people's 'horizon of expectations' was confronted with an array of myths depicted in a variety of schemes every time they attended a funeral. But did the viewers of Apulian vases understand the images of myth depicted on them? This question leads us to the second form of appropriation: the role of drama and tragic performances in the transmission of myths.

Aristotle specifically says that tragedy is, among other things, an imitation of an action that uses an embellished language presented in the form of action, *not* of narrative. He further states that the pity and fear experienced by the audience during tragic performances causes the purging (*katharsis*) of these emotions.[185] Perhaps a similar effect on the viewers was sought by the painters of tragic subjects, whose images confronted the viewers with their own mortality. Given the scarce existence of myths depicted in media other than on the vases, there is no certainty about the viewers' visual response to these images. Furthermore, as many tragedies are further elaborations on traditional myths made by play writers, it is difficult to know the extent to which people from the native centres were familiar with tragedy and theatrical performances. Concerning this, it has been argued that a large number of theatre performances took place at Taranto.[186] In view of this, it is worth quoting Taplin here, who takes almost for granted that:

> '…during the fourth century, going to see tragedies in performance was an important, and indeed time consuming, activity for Greeks, and for highly hellenized non-Greeks everywhere, not least in the West'.[187]

Although the location of the theatre at Taranto has not been found, assumptions like these are based on a few sources and largely on the belief that many scenes on Apulian vases were inspired by theatre.[188] Consequently, these vases had to be made in Taranto for a Greek market. If this is correct, we may think it probable that, somehow,

[185] Arist. *Poet*. 6. 1449b 21-28, my emphasis.
[186] Green 1994, 56.
[187] Taplin 2007, 43.
[188] Plb. 8.30.7; Plat. *Laws* 659 a-c.

the Italic people who were 'highly Hellenised' were acquainted with Greek plays. Yet, based on the extant evidence discussed above and on the fact that most of the scenes linked to theatre appear on volute-kraters – a shape of special significance in Peucetia – the main market for vases depicting tragedies was the Italic one.[189] In addition, scenes on vases depicting comic plays including the burlesques (*phlyakes*), which have been found in Italic sites, suggest that comedies were performed in Italic centres as well.[190] Carpenter has gone even further, suggesting that if comedy was performed in Apulian native centres, then there is a possibility that tragedies, too, were performed.[191] Nonetheless, the question emerges of the need to perform such plays in Apulia.

From Aristotle's definition it is possible to infer that tragedy is a highly sophisticated genre that requires an understanding of the Greek language and of the conventions within which the plot develops. We know that Athenians and Greeks in general, including those in the south of Italy, were well acquainted with tragic performances. Still, a problem arises when we follow our own academic interests: we assume that these kinds of performances developed in the same way in native sites. In this regard, it has been suggested possible that troupes of actors travelling from Greece to South Italy could also perform comedies and tragedies in Italic sites.[192] Assumptions like this together with the fact that Greek was most likely the dominant language of commerce take for granted that the inhabitants of these sites were competent in Greek.[193] In addition, sources tell us about bilingual people in indigenous sites as Canosa.[194] But apart from the inscriptions on the vases (usually labelling the figures) there is no strong epigraphic evidence indicating that Greek was a common language in Apulia.[195]

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[189] E. G. Robinson 1990a, 187; Carpenter 2009a, 32-34.
[190] For comedies depicted on South Italian vases, see Csapo 1986; Taplin 1993; Mannack 2008.
[191] Carpenter 2009a, 34.
[192] Taplin 2007, 6; Carpenter 2014, 265.
[193] Giuliani 1995, 14.
[194] Hor. *S.* 1.10.27-30. This passage is controversial as it does not mention the period or the languages spoken; however, it has been argued that perhaps he was referring to Latin and Greek. On bilingualism in Italy, see Adams *et al.* 2003, 148-150.
[195] For epigraphic sources, see De Simone and Marchesini 2002. For two vases featuring

In view of this, an Apulian calyx-krater by the Tarporley Painter (*ca*. 400 BC) found in a tomb in Ruvo is an exception. It features a comic scene performed by three actors whose dialogues inscribed in Attic dialect are coming out from their mouths.[196] Because the dialogues refer to a specific moment of the play, Taplin concludes that 'the enjoyment of a painting is incomplete without recollection of the play'.[197] But the depiction on this krater is not sufficient to claim that the inhabitants of Apulian native sites, such as Ruvo, were familiar with both the Greek language and theatrical performances; at best, we can say that *some* individuals had this knowledge.

Turning to tragic subjects depicted on Apulian red-figure, Ruvo is the site where the largest number of vases featuring tragic scenes with certain provenance have been found **(Table 1)**. From a total of 113 vases, the 50 vases from Ruvo represent 56.5%, followed by Canosa with 19 (21.4%) and Taranto with 17 exemplars (19.2%).

Site	Lucanian	Apulian	Sicilian	Paestan	Campanian	Total
Ruvo	1	49	-	-	-	50
Canosa	1	18	-	-	-	19
Taranto	1	16	-	-	-	17
Ceglie del Campo	-	7	-	-	-	7
Altamura	-	3	-	-	-	3
Gravina	-	3	-	-	-	3
Arpi	-	1	-	-	-	1
Conversano	-	1	-	-	-	1
Egnazia	-	1	-	-	-	1
Gioia del Colle	-	1	-	-	-	1
Irsina	-	1	-	-	-	1
Lecce	-	1	-	-	-	1
Rudiae	-	1	-	-	-	1
Rutigliano	-	1	-	-	-	1
Salapia	-	1	-	-	-	1
'Apulia'	2	2	-	1	-	5
Total	**5**	**107**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**113**

Table 1. Distribution of South Italian vases with tragic subjects in Apulia (adapted from Todisco 2003, 784).

inscriptions in Greek made by native Apulians, see Todisco 2012, 267-268.

[196] New York, Met. Mus. 24.97.104; *RVAp* 3/7; Montanaro 2007, no. 324.5. For a discussion of the inscriptions, see Beazley 1952, 193-195; Csapo 1986, 391.

[197] Taplin 1993, 31-32.

The view that images of tragic scenes depicted on Apulian vases were illustrations of drama – bringing to mind the famous study by Trendall and Webster – has been challenged.[198] Instead, Taplin states that the viewers of the plays were also the viewers of the vases, concluding that the paintings on the vases were 'informed' by the plays.[199] Although this view has unquestionably opened up new possibilities of interpretation, his attempts to identify some elements in tragic scenes that would link the images to actual theatrical performances are, in some cases, less convincing.[200] Besides, he also claims that funerary vases depicted tragedies because the deceased took pleasure in tragic performances.[201] However, a thorough revision of the images on the vases indicates that Apulian vase painters were illustrating stories, not tragedies.

In a recent study, Carpenter has made a solid case for some kind of tragic performance at Ruvo, the site which offers the strongest evidence.[202] After analysing six vases that can be linked to tragedy (among them **[Cat. 7]**), one to comedy, and an Attic one to a satyr play, he concludes that that 'there was a familiarity amongst the people of Ruvo with tragedies as well as with some forms of theatrical performances'.[203]

Among the tomb-groups studied here, the depictions on five vases can be associated with tragedies. For chronological reasons, the vases from Tomb 1/1974 at Gravina are excluded. But two vases from Tomb 55/1836 at Ruvo, **[Cat. 7]** and **[Cat. 11]**, can be linked to *Iphigenia among the Taurians* by Euripides, while **[Cat. 9]** to *Rhesos* by pseudo-Euripides. *Niobe* by Aeschylus and *Andromeda* by Euripides would

198 Trendal and Webster 1971.
199 Taplin 2007, 25.
200 For example, Odysseus' 'theatrical' costume on an Apulian volute-krater by the Darius Painter (Berlin. Antikensammlung VI 3157; *RVAp suppl* 2, 18/17a, pl. 35.1; *LIMC*, Rhesos, no. 4).
201 Taplin 2007, 45.
202 Carpenter 2014, 265-280.
203 Carpenter 2014, 278. The Attic vase corresponds to the Pronomos Krater (Naples 81673 (H 3240); *ARV²* 1336.1.

correspond to the depictions on **[Cat. 21]** and **[Cat. 22]** from Arpi, Tomb 13/1972, and the Varrese Hypogeum in Canosa respectively.[204]

The depictions of myth 'informed' by tragedies on the three vases from Tomb 55/1836, Ruvo are revealing. For example, the scene depicted on **[Cat. 7]** and **[Cat. 11]** would have made no sense to the viewers of the kraters without knowledge of Euripides'play.[205] As there is no mention of the episode in earlier Attic tragedy, Euripides' story was probably built on Aeschylus' *Oresteia*.[206] In his discussion of the scene depicted by the Ilioupersis Painter (**[Cat. 7]**), Carpenter states that knowledge of the narrative for the painter or the deceased came from a text or a performance of some sort.[207] In fact, the iconography of **[Cat. 7]** and **[Cat. 11]** show some common elements such as a priestess, a temple key, a building, and an altar. Yet, the images on the two kraters are different. On **[Cat. 11]**, for example, a female figure is inside a building. The statue of Artemis, the altar and the vessels (a jug and a large and small phialai) placed outside the structure tell us that this is a temple and that the female figure is a priest. The gesture of the right hand indicates that she is talking to the male figure approaching from the left who holds a letter. Conversely, **[Cat. 7]** sets the main scene around the altar which is far from the building. This time the female figure approaching from the right holds the temple key as she talks to the male figure seated on the altar and to the other male figure further to the left.

In both cases, the key to deciphering the scene is the priestess which demands the viewer to bring his or her knowledge of the narrative into the picture. That is, the story of the *anagnorisis* between Orestes and his sister through the delivery of a letter. Therefore, it is most likely that the scenes on **[Cat. 7]** and **[Cat. 11]** originate from Euripides' play. But this does not necessarily imply that people were familiar with its

[204] One volute-krater from the Tomb of the Niobids' Vase by the Baltimore Painter has been associated with Myrmidons by Aeschylus (Todisco 2008, 50). However, there is no certainty that the figures depicted inside the building structure are Achilles and Phoenix (Taranto, MAN, IG 132821; *RVAp* II, 866, no. 25).
[205] E. G. Robinson, 2014, 325.
[206] Cropp 2000, 36; Carpenter 2014, 275.
[207] Carpenter 2014, 274.

contents, unless they had seen the tragedy or knew about the story from other oral or written sources.

Something similar can be said about the depiction on the situla **[Cat. 9]**. In visual art, the death of Rhesos is a rare subject-matter and is represented on three Apulian vases. On these exemplars, the general scheme of the subject is composed of a male figure (Odysseus) grabbing two white horses and another one (Diomedes) poised to attack sleeping figures wearing oriental-looking costumes (Rhesos and his men). In both the *Iliad* and in the tragedy there is mention of this division of labour between Odysseus and Diomedes.[208] On **[Cat. 9]** we observe this scheme, only with the difference that the oriental-looking figures are not sleeping, but had just been killed by Diomedes. In addition, it is not possible to identify Rhesos among the victims, while the stylistic 'omission' by the painter who chose not to paint one of the horses is probably explained by the fact that the colour may have simply worn off, as it is the case of the cracked painting of the horses depicted on one of the kraters in Berlin.[209] Therefore, the subject on this vase may have been inspired by epic or tragedy. But as the figure of Rhesos is missing, and the prominence is given to Odysseus and the horses, we can say that the scene is more about the heroes' succeeding in their task and less about Rhesos' death.

Depictions of Niobe occur twice in the Varrese Hypogeum and they seem to be informed by different sources. In spite of her profound grief, in the *Iliad* we are told that she eventually eats, thus implying that in the end she accepted the continuation of life.

The episode of Niobe mourning her children is not depicted in Attic art, but there are more than a dozen fourth-century BC examples from South Italy. According to Taplin, the scene on the amphora **[Cat. 21]** is 'more than likely related to Aeschylus' *Niobe'*.[210] As described above, the posture of grief fits with what is known of the tragedy

[208] Hom. *Il.* 10.488-502, Eur. *Rh.* 622-26. See Taplin 2007, 160-165 *contra* Giuliani 1996.
[209] The stylistic 'omission' in the colour of one of the horses noted by Giacobello (2007, 210) on the basis of a similar treatment in the horses of Heracles' quadriga on a volute-krater, also by the Lycurgus Painter, seems to me unlikely (Collezione Banca Intesa 183). For the vase in Berlin, see above, n. 183.
[210] Taplin 2007, 74, no. 15.

as, at the beginning of the performance, she is seated in silence on the tomb of her dead children for a period before speaking.[211] Accordingly, the viewer of the vase could recall the play and, in doing so, enrich its meaning. By contrast, the other depiction of Niobe on the lower register of the large phiale **[Cat. 22]** shows her in the process of being turned into stone. The episode may be related to another tragedy about Niobe, perhaps by Aeschylus or by another author. This hypothesis finds a precedent in the *Iliad* where we are told of her petrification after dripping water on Mount Sipylos, in Lydia.[212] Nevertheless, the development of a specific iconography for the subject around the middle of the fourth century BC makes a strong case for a lost play. It should be noted here that, regardless of their connection with tragedies, the subject of mourning Niobe is relevant in a funerary context, as we shall see below.

The third form of appropriation is observed on the complex iconography of some Apulian vases. This entails the problem of how the pictures on the vases, including myths, were communicated to the viewers. For those who argue that non-Greek Apulians belonged to a highly illiterate culture, there is undoubtedly a clash between the luxury of the vases with their refined subjects and how their meaning was communicated. In a study of the mythological scenes painted in a group of Apulian red-figure vases in Berlin, Giuliani has addressed this problem, introducing the revolutionary idea of a funerary speaker who would have explained the myths depicted on the vases to those less educated.[213] In explaining the images, this interpreter would probably have established mythological comparisons between a hero's tragic end and that of the deceased.[214] A similar practice is seen, for example, in Lycia, from where we have an example of a poet honouring the ruler of Xanthos, who is compared with Achilles and probably Heracles.[215]

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[211] Ar. *Frogs* 911-26.
[212] *Il.* 24.602-610.
[213] Giuliani 1995, 152-158.
[214] Giuliani 1996, 86.
[215] Symmachos of Pellana wrote poems in honour of Erbbina/Arbinas (Xanthos).

Others, such as Todisco are not persuaded by Giuliani's explanation. Based on the lack of epigraphic evidence in Peucetia and Daunia he dismisses the possibility that the locals understood Greek, as well as the theatrical references on the vases. Instead, he states that it was the painters who explained the scenes on the vases to their customers, including the relationship between the images and their funerary implications. He goes further, stating that these painters were to a certain degree fluent in Greek and in the local idiom in order to satisfy the demands of the indigenous elites, which would have contributed to the great demand of their luxury products.[216] In short, in his view it is the painters and not the clients who were responsible for the selection of the scenes on Apulian red-figure vases.

The problem of the level of literacy of Apulian painters has also been discussed by Schmidt.[217] Drawing from the evidence, namely inscriptions on the vases and the images on them, she concludes that there was a close relationship between some painters and their clients. In fact, images of unfamiliar myths featuring inscriptions to clarify them are seen, for example, in some vases by the Ilioupersis (**[Cat. 7])** and Darius Painters. Therefore, in some cases, we can say that painters have not only labelled the figures, but also geographic places and settings, including the name of a play that inspired their compositions. On this subject, Boardman is correct when he suggests that the word *ΠΕΡΣΑΙ* – depicted on the plinth where Darius stands on the famous volute-krater by the eponymous painter – tells the viewer that the scene is taking place at Darius III' palace at Persepolis and not about the title of a play, as it has been suggested.[218] By contrast, the word *ΡΕΣΟΣ* depicted on top of the scene on a volute krater by the same painter (and not close to the figure identified) is most likely the painting's title.[219] This last example is important, because it supports another of

[216] Todisco 2012, 270-271. For the problem of verbal communication in Peucetia, see also Todisco 2010, 271-277, esp. 274-276.
[217] Schmidt 2005. For the ethnicity of the painters, see A. Small 2014, 32.
[218] Boardman 2005, 136; although Taplin labels the scene on this vase as 'possibly, but far from definitely, related to a tragedy called *Persians'*. He further argues that plural titles taken from the nature of the choruses were common for tragedy. See Taplin 2007, 235-236, no. 92.
[219] Taplin 2007, 165, no. 54.

Giuliani's assertions, namely that the painters were not interested in theatrical performances, but in 'the myths as transmitted by the texts'.[220] If this is the case, can we assume that the Darius Painter had a copy of *Rhesos* at hand? If the indigenous aristocracies were acquainted with Greek, as it has been argued, the possibility that they could have also relied on texts to commission a specific painting should not be dismissed.

Another position in the debate has been recently taken by E. G. Robinson who, unlike Todisco, sees no relation between the epigraphic evidence and the level of literacy of a population. Instead, he advocates for the high-level and the long-lasting links between the Greeks and the Italic people established through commercial networks and other historical events described in the sources.[221] In his view, only the local aristocracy would have been able to understand Greek and the plays presented by troupes of Greek actors. These performances would have taken place in the private sphere as, for example, during banquets. In this way the status of the society's most powerful would have been manifest to those surrounding them. This is similar to the Macedonian model in which kings and tyrants seem to have encouraged and given space to theatrical performances under similar circumstances.[222]

To summarise, the problem of the wide variety of myths depicted on Apulian vases is still a complex one. In the past years the debate has mainly focused on the extent to which the images of myth can be related with theatre or literary texts. There has also been a shift from focusing on the painters to the viewers. On this matter, Giuliani's and Taplin's s ideas have made a significant contribution to Apulian studies. At this point, there is enough evidence to suggest that the native elites, particularly those in the most important centres such as Ruvo and Canosa, were most likely competent in Greek. Had this not been the case, then the painters would have not bothered to label

[220] Giuliani 2001, 37.
[221] E. G. Robinson 2014, 323-324. For the sources, see Herring 2000.
[222] E. G. Robinson 2014, 329-332; see also Csapo 2010, 170-177. For theatre in Macedonia, see Moloney 2014, 231-248.

the figures depicted on the vases.[223] In addition, they were somehow acquainted with Greek drama through texts or actual performances. If the latter occurred in a private sphere as it has been argued, and was appropriated by the elites as a conscious display of status, then, the depictions on the vases can only strengthen the idea that the uses of Greek myths and the tragic subjects derived from them were an exclusive, elitist practice to establish hierarchical boundaries within their communities. Having argued this, I now turn to the actual use of the vases and how images of myth targeted different viewers at funerals.

4.2. The uses of myths at funerals

Turning to our question, namely how Greek heroic stories were used in the tomb context of Apulia, we may also consider why people purchased (and perhaps commissioned), displayed and ultimately buried these magnificent vases, never to be seen again. The following discussion is based on the assumption that, in the fourth century BC, a selected group of people from Italic sites had been appropriating the myths for a long time: first by acquiring Attic red-figure pottery featuring depictions of myth; then, by sponsoring tragic drama performed at semi-private gatherings; and finally, by purchasing and/or commissioning luxury vessels with heroic stories depicted on them. But even if drama was important in Apulia, it must be pointed out that the great majority of depictions on Apulian vases are paintings of mythological scenes, not of tragedies.

The problem of the uses of the vases and the myths depicted on them in funerals has hitherto only been explored by Giuliani. As mentioned earlier, he introduced the idea that funerary ceremonies may have included the participation of a consolatory speaker who would have explained the myths to the attendants.[224] Although we know of the existence of funeral orators from the time of the Roman Republic, we have no

[223] For the relationship between the powerful classes and the commission of Apulian vases, see Torelli 2005b, 190-192.
[224] Giuliani 1995, 152-158.

evidence for such speakers in fourth-century BC Apulia.[225] There are works by Pindar from the mid-fifth century BC implying that grave songs were sung during funerals, as also confirmed by a separate literary genre called *threnoi*; but once again, we have no records for such practice in Apulia.[226] Even if Todisco is correct and the myths would have needed no further explanation during the funeral – as they would have already been explained to the purchasers at the time of buying the vases – this does not solve the problem of when and how the vases were displayed, and how viewers attending a funeral would have interacted with these monumental objects and the images on them.[227]

In order to understand the funerary uses of myth in Apulia, it is necessary to consider the rituals and the moments at which these vases were used and displayed. In considering the stages following death described in Chapter I and based on the archaeological evidence, we can say that Apulian vases were accompanying the deceased in all four of the different stages of the funeral (Fig. 4). Iconographic evidence further supports this. For example, a volute-krater by the Darius Painter in Naples shows a *prothesis* scene in which Archemoros (inscribed) is being mourned on a funerary couch, while a *paidagogos* (inscribed) approaches from the right (Figs. 70-71). Further to the right are two male figures, richly dressed and holding small tables full of sympotic and ritual vases above their heads: kantharoi, phiale, rhyta, a stamnos, and a foot of, perhaps, a hydria (Fig. 73).[228] Between the figures stands a loutrophoros with floral decoration. This depiction is unique in that it illustrates particularly well the way in which some of the vases, both sympotic and funerary ones, were used at this particular stage of a funeral.

[225] See Polyb. 6.53-54.
[226] Pi. *P*. The threnoi offered consolation to the patrons by describing happiness after death while the dead are portrayed in heroic language.
[227] Todisco 2010, 271-277; 2012, 270-271.
[228] Naples, MAN, H3255 (inv. 81934). For an analysis of the myths on both sides of the krater, see Pouzadoux 2008, 214-215, fig. 5. For a possible connection of the scene with Euripides' *Hypsipyle*, see Taplin 2007, 211-212, no. 79.

Here, an important aspect concerning the availability of vases at the time of death needs to be considered. It is frequently assumed that after a person's death, members of the family would have gone to the workshop and bought a large or small number of vessels according to their social status. Yet, further evidence for the interaction between workshops and consumers is needed. A case in point is the complete examples of funerary assemblages, which show vases painted by different artists. Vases by one painter may predominate over others, but the rule is that they are usually varied. Whether the stock of workshops offered vessels by a variety of painters is something likely, but not possible to prove. We can only be certain that a vase could not be made overnight as it requires a considerable time to be potted and painted, thus suggesting the possibility that special commissions were ordered in advance by an individual or a family group. Further, a tomb's *corredo* could have increased in number if mourners contributed with vases as well.

Assuming that, as in Greece, the laying out of the body extended for a few days, mourners visiting to present their respects would have encountered the vases alongside the deceased.[229] The large vases with painted figures probably stood separated from the small ones, in order to enhance their decoration and allow mourners to observe them. During the funeral, the vases – and surely the most sumptuous and larger ones – would have hardly been overlooked by the mourners. They would have first noted their monumental shapes: the tall loutrophoroi with their elaborate handles and the monumental volute-kraters with masks on the volutes would have primarily attracted the viewer's attention. Only after noticing them, the viewer would have taken a closer look at their images, where the spheres of the divine, of myth and of motifs derived from real life were combined.

[229] Ps. Dem. 43.62 (in connection with Solon's restriction of the *prothesis*). See also Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 143-146; Garland 1985, 26; Erasmo 2012, 14. For *prothesis* and mourning scenes in Greek art, see Zschietzschmann 1928; Shapiro 1991, 629-656.

In fact, Giuliani has asserted by calling them 'picture vases', as they provide a frame, like a canvas, for depictions.[230] But if the *prothesis* took place inside the house, then it is reasonable to think that at this stage viewers could have not fully appreciated the images, as lighting and space would have not be sufficient to allow this. Furthermore, if they were placed against the walls, only one side of the vase would have been visible. But the female figure holding an umbrella above Archemoros' head on the vase by the Darius Painter suggests that this part of the funeral could have taken place outdoors as well.[231] In any case, by switching the loutrophoros depicted between the two male figures on the Archemoros' vase and replacing it with the one from Tomb 55/1836, Ruvo **[Cat. 10]**, and the lekythos depicted under the funerary bier with **[Cat. 8]**, we have, as a result, that the images depicted on these vases are only partially visible. If this were a real funeral, the men passing by the loutrophoros would only be able to see its shoulder and, perhaps, part of the scene with Dionysos on the upper register. The Amazonomachy nonetheless would have been out of their sights. On the other hand, the scene with Heracles in the garden of the Hesperides depicted on the lekythos would be difficult to see, not only because of its placement under the funerary bear on the ground, but also because the vase and its images are not large enough to be appreciated by anyone from a standing distance. Nonetheless, the figured vessels placed on the small tables carried by the men on the Archemoros' vase would have had a better chance to be seen.

On the other hand, thinking of how a tomb's complete *corredo* would have looked like at this stage of the funeral also makes the viewers' appreciation of the images problematic. For example, the one from Arpi, Tomb 13/1972, with its more than one hundred vessels gathered around by the funerary bed, would require the vessels to be placed close together, and thereby only partially visible. The same applies to the corredo from the Varrese Hypogeum, in which case the amphora **[Cat. 21]** and the large

[230] Giuliani 2001.

[231] For depictions of *prothesis* scenes on funerary plaques, sometimes probably taking place in the house's courtyard, see Boardman 1955.

phiale **[Cat. 22]**, would have been difficult to appreciate among all the hundreds of vessels of the tomb's assemblage. In these cases, viewers would have been impressed by the large quantities of grave goods and its luxury items; however, the conditions for a close observation of the images depicted on the vases would not have been given. In contrast, the case of the vessel from Tomb 21/1990 in Gravina would have been different. For example, **[Cat. 6]** is not only the largest vase, but also the only figured one among the grave goods. Its three figures are larger and thus easy to see from the distance. Nevertheless, if large vessels were displayed at the corners of the funerary bed, as shown by a drawing of the Hypogeum of the Darius' Vase in Canosa, these would have certainly had a better chance to be fully appreciated.

After the *prothesis*, the vases were taken in a procession from the house to the cemetery or burial place. In fact, three rich tombs from Gravina were found outside the cemetery and near the inhabited area, suggesting that in some cases the processional stage would not have been long. Nonetheless, in the great majority of cases, rich tombs are usually found within a site's necropolis and thus at a certain distance from the inhabited area. At this stage we can assume that vases were transported in a chariot together with the corpse, while the largest shapes could also be carried individually by one or more people. Iconography shows that this task was not gender specific, as a woman carrying a large loutrophoros to a tomb is seen on a krater from Taranto mentioned above.[232] During the funerary procession viewers would have been able to observe the vases from different angles, perhaps recognising some of the figures depicted on them.

At the time of deposition of the body in the tomb, the vases were placed alongside the body. Assuming that there was a funerary speaker, perhaps this was the time where the images of myth depicted on the vases were 'explained' to the viewers (if we agree with Giuliani's interpretation). If some kind of rituals were performed during the deposition of the deceased in the tomb, this would have been a good occasion to see

[232] *Cf.* above, n. 86.

the vases as the viewers' attention would have been directed towards the tomb with its goods. In Peucetia, the displaying of the vases was important at this stage. This is confirmed by the fact that sometimes, vases were found hanging in the walls of a tomb by means of nails as seen, for example, in Tomb 55/1836 at Ruvo, where nails were attached to the grave's walls according to the excavation's reports.[233] More recently, a tomb unearthed at Bitonto demonstrated that this was not an unusual practice (Fig. 75).[234] Unfortunately, the reports from Tomb 55/1836 do not specifically mention which vases were hanging from nails in the tomb's walls. However, based on the example from Bitonto, we can see that small shapes were the ones displayed in this way. This was probably the case of the lekythos **[Cat. 8]** and of the phialai and cups from Tomb 55/1836, thus leaving free space to accommodate the larger vessels alongside the deceased. The kraters depicting Orestes and Iphigeneia **[Cat. 7]** and **[Cat. 11]**, the situla showing Odysseus and the horses **[Cat. 9]**, and the loutrophoros with its prominent Amazonomachy **[Cat. 10]** would have certainly embellished and dignified the final resting place of the individual buried in this tomb. On the other hand, the vessels from Tomb 21/1990 in Gravina were all placed alongside the deceased who was buried in the contracted position. The bell krater with the depiction of Heracles and Hades **[Cat. 6]** was placed at the individual's feet next to the larger lebes, while the large patera, the two phialai and the two plates were positioned in the central part of the tomb. The small cups and jugs were placed by the head and in between the krater and the phialai. In these cases, mourners were able to observe the vases from an upper ground level as long as the funerary rituals took place. After the tomb was sealed, the vases were never to be seen again.[235]

In Daunia, stages 1 and 2 would have been similar, only with the difference that the burials of some of the wealthiest families took place in hypogea rather than in single chamber tombs. This is the case for the Varrese Hypogeum in Canosa where a

[233] Montanaro 2007, 357, no. 55; Carpenter 2014, 273-274.
[234] Tomb 2/1982. See Riccardi 2003, fig. 23.
[235] The reuse of Apulian tombs is not a common practice.

contextual, but hypothetical drawing of the tomb's funerary goods gives us a hint of how the woman (?) buried here was surrounded by a large number of vessels (Fig. 63). It is clear that the large shapes – such as **[Cat. 21]** and **[Cat. 22]** showing different versions of mourning Niobe in conjunction with other myths – were appreciated. However, that the scenes associated to Heracles on **[Cat. 27]**, **[Cat. 28]**, and **[Cat. 29]** are related to each other would have probably been unnoticed, unless these oinochoai were placed together. Perhaps more impressive than the paintings on the vases was the large number and wide variety of vessels that made up the *corredo* and we can infer a similar conclusion for the funerary vases from tomb 13/1972 at Arpi.

On the other hand, the tomb painting in the Hypogeum of the Cerberus at Canosa **[Cat. 30]** was visible only at the deposition stage and its view was most likely restricted to the closest relatives. The scene, painted at the entrance of one of the hypogeum's chamber tombs is revealing and it sheds light on the funerary ideologies of the people buried here. For example, we can assume that the tomb's occupant understood that he had to be led by some kind of divine figure (in this case, Hermes *Psychopompos*) to the underworld, where Cerberus awaits. In this way, a confrontation with a terrific creature marks the transition between this and the afterlife. Hitherto, the representation of an individual being led in this transition finds no parallel in contemporary Apulian tomb-painting. Nonetheless, it could have an iconographic precedent in the Daunian incised funerary stele (*ca*. 800-500 BC), which were probably still placed on top of the mounds that covered the tombs in the Gargano area during this time. Some examples show funerary processions, and images combining human figures, with animals and fantastic creatures.[236] In fact, funerary processions are also seen in tomb painting later on as, for example, in the Saint Aloia Hypogeum in Canosa.[237] Concerning this, we can say that the funerary procession depicted in the Hypogeum of the Cerberus is part of a Daunian tradition.

[236] See Nava 1998.
[237] Canosa, Palazzo Sinesi (previously in Bari, MA). See Mazzei 1995, 206, fig. 134.

Having described the moments at which Apulian vases were displayed during the funeral and whether viewers were able to fully appreciate them, I turn now to what are the possible implications in relation to interpreting and understanding the images of the myths depicted on these funerary monuments. As discussed earlier, much has been said about the locals' ability to understand the images. It is a matter of fact that many of the images are complex for us to decipher, and without literary sources to help us decipher the scenes we would have been lost in the images. If there was no funerary speaker, what would (illiterate) viewers see when looking at the images? Were they able to grasp deeper levels of meaning from the myths depicted on the vases?

Todisco has answered this question in the negative; but the semantics of a picture may not require a particular version of the myth in order to engage a viewer. In fact, a painting showing a heroic episode can still be enjoyed through knowing other stories associated with a particular myth. This is experienced even today when we see that some depictions on the vases are outside our 'horizon of expectations'. The modern viewer may experience feelings of frustration because we are so preoccupied with the meaning behind the images. For example, among the tomb-groups discussed here, the volute-krater by the Gravina Painter **[Cat. 1]** presents problems of interpretation as we are to choose between two options: either the scene is related to the Argonauts in Lemnos or to Paris in Sparta. Even more of a puzzle is the scene depicted on the oinochoe by the Darius Painter **[Cat. 20]** from Tomb 13/1972, Arpi. As mentioned earlier, the Darius Painter is known for depicting complex scenes as well as unfamiliar myths (unfamiliar to us, at least). For example, why is the draped woman offering the infant to the two figures driving a panther *biga*? Who is the male figure approaching from the right? What is their relation to the figures depicted on the upper level? Many of these questions might have been asked by contemporary viewers as well. A similar iconography showing a woman holding an infant with extended arms is seen on a volute-krater by the Underworld Painter (*ca*. 320 BC), only with the difference that the infant extends his arms towards an armed male figure. This is a familiar scene known to

us from the *Iliad* and Attic iconographic sources representing Andromache and the infant Astyanax at Hektor's departure.[238] Nevertheless, we cannot say the same about **[Cat. 20]**. The Darius Painter did not label the figures, which suggests that the scene was probably not difficult to decipher by informed viewers. Examples like **[Cat. 20]** force us to enjoy the painting as it is; this experience is not further enriched by literary sources, nor does it allow us to search for explicit or hidden symbolisms.

We can easily recognise most of the images on the vases from Apulian tombs, but this was certainly not the case among ancient viewers. Viewers probably felt at a loss when they saw the depictions of Orestes and Iphigeneia on **[Cat. 7]** and **[Cat. 11]**. This was a new subject, not previously depicted on Attic vases and there are about five exemplars. Furthermore, we cannot be certain that they all come from Ruvo. Considering that two out of the five depictions of this scene come from the same tomb, it is unlikely that viewers were visually acquainted with its iconography. As figures are labelled on **[Cat. 7]** viewers capable of reading Greek would have identified the figures depicted on the vases. However, unless they knew the story of the mythical encounter between brother and sister, the scene would have still remained mysterious. The fact that we can easily recognise an image does not mean that ancient viewers were able to do it in the same way, as their frame of visual interpretation was more limited.

In view of this, attending funerals in fourth-century BC Apulia offered the viewers of Apulian vases an opportunity to see a variety of images. They were probably familiar with Dionysian, tomb visiting and genre scenes, which are common on the vases. But the situation is different when it comes to depictions of myth and in particular of tragic scenes. A modern viewer's confrontation with the mysterious scene depicted on, for example, **[Cat. 20]** is perhaps the closest we can get to the experience the inhabitants from Canosa, and of the native centres of Apulia in general, had at the funerals they attended. The point here is that, most likely, the majority of the people who attended a

[238] Hom. *Il.* 6. 390-502.

funeral were not able to recognise the scenes on all the vases, but that they were at least able to recognise *some* figures.

Images of death or heroes, who will eventually die, as depicted on Apulian vases, can only tell the viewers that this event is imminent and universal, regardless of their level of understanding. For example, an image like Thersites' severed head depicted on a volute-krater by a painter close to the Varrese Painter (*ca*. 340 BC) found at Ceglie del Campo would have certainly caused astonishment among the viewers.[239] The depiction on this vessel shows tense actions and expressive faces, while it is full of narrative details telling us about an uncommon episode at Troy. The story goes that Achilles killed Thersites as he pointed out the hero's passion for Penthesileia, the queen of the Amazons. In Book 2 of the *Iliad*, Thersites (spelled *ΘΕΡΣΙΤΑΣ* on the vase) is described as a commoner, the ugliest man among the Greeks, bandy-legged and lame, hunched and with a narrow head with a few hairs.[240] Nonetheless, in other sources he is a descendant of the royal house of Aitolia, as was Diomedes.[241] The painter of this vase was probably relying on these sources, as Thersites' body and head with eyes closed show him as a beautiful hero. In other words, the content of the scene is horrendous, but beautifully depicted. There are many other examples of 'beautiful death' on Apulian vases like Lycurgus killing his wife on a calyx-krater by the eponymous painter (360-250 BC) now in London.[242] To the right of the central scene, the dead body of his son Dryas is carried by a male and a female figure. Therefore, even if viewers were unfamiliar with the story of Lycurgus' madness, they would have seen a dead body being carried away and a woman about to die. In this specific case, the associations between tragic subjects and their suitability for a funerary monument were not missing to the viewers. Some vases provide further evidence for this type of association as they show images of

[239] Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1900.03.804. *RVAp* 17/75; *LIMC*, Achilles, no. 794.
[240] Hom. *Il.* 2. 211ff. Note that Plato (*Grg*. 525b) mentions Thersites as an example of a soul that can be healed in the afterlife.
[241] For a possibly connection of the scene with the *Achilles* of Chairemon, see Taplin 2007, 233-234, no. 91.
[242] London, BM, F271. *RVAp* 16/5, pl. 147; *LIMC*, Lykourgos I, no. 14.

myth on one side and of funerary monuments on the other. In other words, it is possible to find on some Apulian vases the event (death) and its consequences (the funerary monument). Therefore, even in the case that a viewer could not understand the story behind the images, which indeed would have enriched the viewing experience, at least the viewer would have been aware of its connection with a fatal event.

4.3. Images of myth: consolation or entertainment?

It has been argued that some scenes inspired in tragedy could, in fact, have provided some consolation to the mourners. Orestes and Electra are reunited at their father's tomb, as depicted on **[Cat. 3]**; Iphigenia will be rescued eventually and join her family on **[Cat. 7]**; Heracles accedes to the underworld, thus consecrating himself as immortal **[Cat. 8]**. However, these scenes also imply the recollection of other episodes of the stories that are not necessarily positive. Orestes killed his mother, Iphigenia was sacrificed to the gods, and Heracles faced terrible dangers. In fact, it has been argued that mythical figures as Orestes were selected because his drama evoked a family drama as well.[243] As a matter of fact, suffering in Greek tragedy largely overshadows those stories that provide some kind of redemption. Consequently, only a small number of all the mythological images on Apulian vases can be regarded as showing scenes that offer some kind of redemption after dying, which would have relieved the mourners' grief.

On the other hand, some mythical battle scenes would have been appealing. For example, the Amazonomachy depicted on **[Cat. 10]** shows some local elements in the form of clothes and armour, as seen in one of the male figures. This introduction of local characterisations of the figures in the myths does not only reveal the ethnicity of the people who purchased the vases, but also tells us that enjoying the images was something desired to a certain extent. This is further confirmed by the scene of Hera and Hephaestus on **[Cat. 18]**, or by Paris in Sparta on **[Cat. 12]**. Concerning this, we

[243] Kerényi 2005b, 274-283.

can only think that if subjects like this were also depicted at funerals, people attending them would have expected a display of images to look at. They would have been amazed at looking women engaged in battle (Amazons) or depictions of people wearing fancy or strange clothes, such as the oriental-looking soldiers on **[Cat. 9]**. As mentioned earlier, the image of Actaeon on the neck of **[Cat. 1]** anticipating his transformation should have been impressive to any viewer looking at it for the first time.

That Apulian vases were predominantly for funerary purposes is unquestionable. Yet, it is not possible to know whether the scenes selected for a tomb-group intended to compare the deceased with the heroic characters represented on them, or whether they were selected because 'the deceased, when alive, took pleasure in tragic performances'.[244] After analysing a large number of depictions on Apulian vases, and particularly those from the selected tomb-groups, it is possible to say that the purchasers of the vases were not seeking consolation from the images depicted on them. The same statement is valid for the mourners attending the funerals. Apulian red-figure vases are luxury items; those featuring images of myth on them were, without a doubt, active vectors in the creation of social hierarchies among the Italic peoples. In this way, the aristocratic elites, by means of exhibiting their familiarity with Greek culture either through appropriation of drama or specific pottery shapes and images, could reinforce their role and their power inside their communities. Thanks to these elites who displayed these funerary monuments in public, wider audiences had the opportunity to look at unique images and enjoy them before – like the deceased – they were gone for good.

5. Conclusion

The evidence presented in this chapter has considered case studies from a variety of Apulian regions and sites. Apulian red-figure vases were the major vector for Greek

[244] Taplin 2007, 44.

heroic stories and they appear more predominantly on large shapes. Among them, the volute-krater was of particular importance in native sites like Ruvo and Canosa, and myths are usually part of its decoration. Apulian vases were valued for their images no less than for their shapes as the one cannot be detached from the other. Large shapes such as kraters, amphorae and loutrophoroi were specifically enlarged as they were intended for demonstration. In this regard, these monumental vases with depictions on them, including myths, should be considered as funerary monuments.

The tomb-groups discussed here are not isolated finds and they confirm that artists were not working for a public unfamiliar with Greek myth. This public, however, was restricted to the local aristocracies who were competent in Greek. But the great majority of the inhabitants of Apulian native centres were not visually familiar with them. In any case, it was the painter's duty to arouse admiration and to work with allusions for the viewers; it was not his task to provide an accurate illustration of a text or a play.

Hitherto, the evidence does not permit us to conclude that plays were performed in front of large audiences in Apulia. Nevertheless, the complexity of the iconographic evidence with its wide variety of myths informed by drama suggests that there was some kind of tragic performance in Italic sites. The recent suggestion that these representations probably took place at semi-private banquets following the Macedonian style can only reinforce the links between Apulia and Macedonia already observed in burial customs and funerary painting.

On the other hand, the popularity of myths depicted on Apulian red-figure vases during the fourth century BC, particularly those depicted on the monumental vessels, was maintained as long as they were regarded as elements of distinction. In other words, the funerary display of myths was dependent on the condition that they remained rare and exceptional. Therefore, the 'industrialisation' of the vases in the second half of the fourth century BC made the elites turn their interest towards new forms of display, including a demand for more elaborate and complex scenes of myths.

The uses of mythical representations in the funerary art of Apulia were the result of both material and ideological exchanges between different cultures. In South Italy, this phenomenon was already taking place in the Archaic period, where myth had a role as mediator of cultural exchanges between the Greek settlements in the south of Italy and the local population. The absence of local written sources, however, leaves the archaeological record as the only evidence available when attempting to reconstruct not only the history of the region, but also its cultural diversity and ideologies. In this scenario, Apulian vases are a privileged medium by which it is possible to have a hint not only of the diffusion of Greek mythological models in an indigenous environment, but also of the cultural expression of local communities. This is expressed not only in the choice of subjects depicted on the vases, but also in their shapes and frequency of deposition. Other media, such as wall paintings, show very isolated cases for the reconstruction of a funerary ideology. Concerning this, the scene on the frieze with Cerberus at Canosa is, so far, one of a kind.

Finally, the visual culture associated to the funerary ritual seems to have been linked to both the demands and the social status of the clients. This process would have never occurred without a public capable of enjoying and admiring the images on the vases and in other media. This further indicates that social status in Apulia was linked to the appropriation of Greek intellectual and ideological practices. The Greeks gave the Apulian people the shapes of the vases and the myths, but the locals transformed them into something new – something that was their own cultural achievement.

Depictions of tragic scenes on Apulian vases aim at depicting death in a beautiful way, without the need to show us wounded bodies and dripping blood as seen, for instance, in some Etruscan funerary monuments. This is the subject of the following chapter.

Chapter III

The Funerary Uses of Myth in Etruria

1. Introduction

Why did the Etruscans desire to decorate some of their funerary monuments with Greek myths? This chapter discusses the funerary uses of Greek heroic stories in an Etruscan context, considering different sites as they appear in tomb painting and sarcophagi.

Depictions of myths in Etruria show more diverse stylistic and iconographic variations than those in Apulia. Are we dealing with 'Greek' myths in Etruria or are we dealing with 'Etruscanised' versions of these stories? Did the Etruscans use Greek myths in their graves to satisfy specific eschatological needs? I will tackle these questions by developing a contextual approach and studying the specific uses of myths on funerary artefacts.[245] This approach is different from those presented by other studies on Etruscan funerary monuments, because my interpretation of the scenes focuses on the use of the mythological images in this particular context rather than providing an iconological reading of the subjects.[246]

After discussing aspects of chronology, typology and decoration of the monuments under study (Section 2), Section 3 introduces the funerary monuments by site. Section 4 re-examines the question about why certain images were popular in Etruscan funerary art. As with the Apulian funerary monuments discussed in the

[245] Zanker and Ewald 2012; Borg 2013, 164-176.
[246] For example, Massa-Pairault 1992.

previous chapter, my interpretation of the scenes will focus on the funerary use given to the Etruscan monuments and the mythological images depicted on them. Contextual aspects and the interaction between viewers and image (reception) will be crucial in this analysis before summarising the conclusions in Section 5.

From the middle of the fourth century BC, subjects in the funerary art of the Etruscans were more focused on death, and on life in the underworld. This new subject- matter is well illustrated on vases, in tomb paintings at Tarquinia and Orvieto (with isolated examples at Vulci and Cerveteri), and also on numerous south Etruscan sarcophagi and urn reliefs from northern Etruria of a later date.[247] Within this trend comes also a series of Greek myths specially selected, sometimes with modifications, to decorate a number of tombs and sarcophagi. Nonetheless, this was not a widespread phenomenon; it shows us that elites existed within the Etruscan elites. In other words, painted tombs focused on the grandeur of the family or *gens* by placing themselves alongside the Greek gods and heroes, while depictions of myth on sarcophagi alongside inscriptions seem to exalt a particular individual inside the *gens*.

The corpus of Etruscan tomb painting and sarcophagi of the fourth century BC featuring depictions of myth has not increased much in recent decades. This situation differs from the one in Campania and Apulia, where every year new painted tombs are found. Nevertheless, an important finding at Tarquinia in 1985 changed the perception of Etruscan funerary painting with the discovery of the Tomb of the Blue Demons (450-400 BC).[248] Until then, the common opinion was that underworld scenes and depictions of Etruscan demons did not appear until the fourth century BC, a period characterised by a gloomier repertoire than that observed previously. The paintings on this tomb also suggested that new funerary ideologies were

[247] See *EP*, 58-59; Steuernagel 1998; Van der Meer 2004 (sarcophagi); De Angelis 1999 (urns).
[248] On the tomb, see Cataldi 1988, 37-42.

circulating in Etruria well before the conflicts with the Romans that took place in the fourth century BC. Therefore, it seems that the reason for a change in the funerary visual repertoire of the Etruscans was not necessarily connected to historical events. Further, according to Pallottino, tomb paintings were not intended for public viewing, as they were specifically for the dead.[249] More recently, the discovery of a painted tomb in Sarteano, called Tomb of the Infernal Quadriga, has changed our perception about the nature of tomb painting in northern Etruria as well.[250] Considering that tomb paintings as well as painted and relief sarcophagi are undoubtedly funerary monuments; then, the mythological images depicted on them were selected with a funerary intention in mind.

2. Funerary monuments: Etruscan tomb painting and sarcophagi

It is generally agreed that, during the fourth century BC, Greek pictorial prototypes observed in both tomb painting and on sarcophagi were mediated to Etruria through Magna Graecia and South Italy. Brecoulaki has demonstrated, for example, that the so-called Sarcophagus of the Amazons (from Tarquinia and now in Florence) **[Cat. 35]** was in fact painted in South Italy, probably Taranto, and not in Etruria as previously thought.[251]

Despite this, Etruscan artists were well aware of stylistic and iconographic developments in other monuments and media from outside Etruria. From the end of the fifth century BC onwards, the growing importance of underworld scenes in Etruscan tomb-paintings – notably the Tomb of the Blue Demons (450-400 BC) and the Tomb of Orcus II (325-300 BC) both at Tarquinia, and on vases – suggests knowledge not only of older Greek pictorial prototypes. These include, for example,

[249] Pallottino 1952, 11.
[250] See Minetti 2006.
[251] Florence, MAN, inv. 5811. Brecoulaki 2001, 21. According to the author, the artist who painted this sarcophagus was immersed in Magno-Graecian culture. See below, p. 97, n. 277.

Polygnotos' *Nekyia* at Delphi as well as an acquaintance with the iconography of Apulian red-figure vases showing the world of Hades.[252] These prototypes could have reached Etruria via Praeneste or by means of trade with Greek and native settlements in South Italy – although there is always the possibility that South Italian and Etruscan artists were travelling to and from Etruria to satisfy the artistic demands of their patrons, as some Greek philosophers and artists did during this time.

On the other hand, myths carved on sarcophagi show a marked local style. They were produced by local workshops operating at Tarquinia, Tuscania, Vulci and Orvieto. Although some schemes and iconography are clearly inspired by Greek models, Etruscan artists (or their patrons) could adapt, combine, and try new schemes in a freer manner than that observed in tomb painting. Sometimes, however, the compositions tend to be paratactic without achieving a unified whole **[Cat. 37]**. Figures from different myths could be also grouped in the same frieze line, as observed in sarcophagi that present Trojan and Theban myths combined (**[Cat. 34]** and **[Cat. 38]**). In some cases the direction in which images should be seen and understood seems to follow no logical order (**[Cat. 39]**, **[Cat. 40]**) –at least for the modern viewer who attempts to 'read' the images according to literary texts and, therefore, expects to find a coherent sequence in the events depicted.[253]

Etruscan tomb paintings and sarcophagi were, nonetheless, the product of particular funerary ideologies. They were important as they fulfilled specific needs at the time of someone's death. I have already discussed the uses given to some Apulian red-figure vases during the funerals of different communities of Peucetia and Daunia. The Etruscan elites, by contrast, wanted their tombs to feature paintings and inscriptions, while many of them chose sarcophagi as their final resting place. Grave goods were also placed in the tombs, including vases, but not in the large quantities

[252] Paus. 10.28-29. For example, the volute-krater by the Underworld Painter (Munich 3297); *RVAp* II 503, no. 18/282, pl.124; Trendall 1989, ill. 209. For a reconstruction of Polygnotos' *Nekyia*, see Stainsbury-O'Donnell 1990, 213-235.

[253] It is here worth mentioning that Etruscan texts should be read from right to left.

observed in Apulian tombs. In what follows, I will briefly discuss aspects of chronology, typology and decoration of these two types of Etruscan funerary monuments.

2.1. Tomb painting

2.1.1. Chronology and typology

Tomb painting developed in Etruria from the Orientalising period (*ca*. 680 BC) to the second century BC.[254] The largest number of tomb paintings is concentrated between the second half of the sixth- and the first half of the fourth century BC, first on single chamber tombs, then on multiple-chamber ones. Painted tombs are predominantly located in southern Etruria, and the majority at Tarquinia (Fig. 76). Although these paintings are an important aspect of Etruscan art, they are numerically insignificant, as they constitute only two per cent of the extant tombs.[255]

The chronology of tomb painting is based on technique. However, it is the case that tombs may belong to more than one chronological time, as they were in some cases enlarged or altered (Tomb of Orcus I), thus making their dating difficult. In the oldest tombs, painting was applied directly onto the walls. After the arrival of Greek and eastern artists in the second half of the sixth century BC, typical features of fresco painting are observed.[256] From the fourth century BC on, the walls are covered by a more consistent layer of plaster in response to new artistic demands.

[254] Among the extant tombs, Tomb of the Ducks at Veio (680-660 BC) is the oldest tomb; (see *EP* no. 175), while Tomb of the *Convegno* at Tarquinia (150-130 BC) is the latest (*EP* no. 58).

[255] There are nearly 180 known tombs with paintings or remains of them, of which 140 are at Tarquinia, 14 at Chiusi, 11 at Cerveteri, 3 near Orvieto, 2 at Veii, Vulci and Populonia, and single tombs in other locations (*EP,* 19). See also Cristofani 1987, 90; D'Agostino 1989, 2; *EP,* 44.

[256] For example, smooth walls were covered by a layer of mixed clay and the tomb's rock powder (about 3 mm thick). This preparation was then coated with clear coloured plaster that is the background of the paintings. The chemical reaction between these two layers created a film of carbonated plaster that helped to fix the polychromies. This procedure was completed in a short period of time, as shown by the various corrections on the engraved figures that were imperceptible after being painted.

This is seen, for example, in the creation of more plastic figures, which were highlighted by the adoption of the chiaroscuro technique.

There are different types of tomb painting. The earliest ones emphasised both their structural and architectural elements, examples of which are found in the Campana Tomb at Veio (*ca*. 600 BC) and in the Tomb of the Painted Lions at Cerveteri (650-630 BC).[257] Sometimes these elements were shown by means of painting only. In the Tomb of the Hunter at Tarquinia (*ca*. 510 BC), the painted poles and wooden structure of the roof covered by a chequered fabric suggest the inside of a tent erected as part of the burial process.[258] In this case, as in many other sixth- and fifth-century BC examples, single chamber tombs in the necropolis at Tarquinia exhibit a rectangular base and a gabled roof testifying to a fully developed decorative system, which usually covers the entrance, the rear and the side walls, with many examples of ornamented roofs as well. From the fourth century BC on, paintings also decorate multi-chamber tombs such as the François Tomb, the Tomb of the Shields or Tomb of the Charuns. In these and in other similar cases, paintings are concentrated in the main chamber. The organisation and composition of the paintings in the tombs during this time are less structured than in the previous centuries, but they are still conditioned by the interior architecture of the tomb. In these paintings, episodes could be interrupted by the entrance door or by the *loculi* carved on the walls.

Other types of Etruscan painting should be mentioned here, as they show stylistic and iconographic developments which, in some cases, run parallel to the paintings in the tombs. For example, Etrusco-Corinthian vases (*ca*. 620-550 BC), Pontic vases (*ca*. 550 BC), Caeretan hydriai, Campana vases (530-500 BC) and

[257] *EP* nos.179 and 6. Naso 2005, fig. 7.

[258] *EP* no. 51. *EP* nos. 51, 9 and 69 respectively. Pallottino 1952, 44. In fact, a set of postholes found at the entrance of a burial mound from Pian della Conserva suggests that a tent temporary structure was erected outside the tomb. See Spivey 1997, 108; Izzet 2006, 112-113. For the contrary view, see *EP,* 44.

painted plaques (Boccanera, Campana) were part of the painting tradition throughout the sixth century BC and, apart from the plaques that were part of the walls, many of these exemplars were deposited in tombs.[259] In addition, the large number of Attic black- and red-figure pottery imported during the sixth- and fifth centuries BC promoted the creation of Etruscan versions of these vessels.[260] During the second half of the fourth century BC the latter type is found at Cerveteri, Tarquinia, Vulci, Orvieto, Chiusi and Voletrra.[261] Faliscan and other locally made red-figure vase painting, notably the one by the Vanth Group at Orvieto add to the painted repertoire on vases. Furthermore, painted sarcophagi are also informative of the style and iconography circulating in Etruria at this time.

Although chamber tombs of the Etruscan type with painted scenes on the walls were not built in Greece – except for a few examples in Macedonia – it is possible that Greek artists painted the walls on some Etruscan tombs as apparently they did in tombs in Anatolia, and Paestum.[262] Nevertheless, the large number of painted tombs and the extended tradition of this art, particularly at Tarquinia, indicate that local workshops were operating in Etruria.[263] Furthermore, in commenting on shape of the vases depicted on the *kylikeion* of the Tomb of the Warrior at Tarquinia (400-360 BC), Weber Lehmann notes that, leaving artistic innovations aside, the depictions of the vessels are inconceivable without genuine knowledge of south Italian and Etruscan fourth-century models.[264]

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[259] London, BM, GR 1889.4-10.1-5 (Paintings 5a-e). Boccanera plaques from Cerveteri (*ca*. 550-540). They were found in a tomb in the in the Banditaccia necropolis and show the toilette of Helen and the judgement of Paris. Paris, Louvre, Cp 6626, Campana plaque from Cerveteri (550-525 BC), Banditaccia necropolis, with a sacrificial scene.

[260] On Greek vases in Etruria, see Spivey 1991 and particularly Osborne 2001. For large-scale Attic cups in Etruscan contexts, including necropoleis, see Tsingarida (forthcoming).

[261] See *EVP*; Harari 1980 (Clusium Group); Martelli 1987; Ambrosini 2013.

[262] Tomb paintings from Elmali, Lycia, and Tomb of the Diver from Paestum, both executed during the early fifth century BC. See Boardman 1980, 206, figs. 122 and 222; Pontrandolfo *et al.* 2004. *Cf*. below, Chapter 4.

[263] Based on style, Weber-Lehmann (*EP*) distinguishes at least four workshops operating during the fifth- and early fourth centuries BC.

[264] *EP* no. 73; Weber-Lehmann in *EP*, 56. On *kylikeia* in Etruscan tomb painting, see Van der

2.1.2. Decoration

The subjects that decorated Etruscan tombs in the sixth and fifth centuries BC include funerary rituals, banquets, sporting competitions, hunting, dance and music. In some cases, they show stylistic parallels with Greek cities in the east, thus testifying to the presence of Greek and eastern artists working in Etruria.[265] In the fifth century BC, however, the traditional subjects are now almost exclusively determined by symposia in *klinai*, which usually occupy the rear wall, as seen in the Tomb of the Triclinium (*ca*. 470 BC). Concerning this, Weber-Lehmann observes that this new type of banquet representation goes along with the supplanting of the Attic black-figure banquet of the gods by the everyday banquet typical of red-figure vases.[266]

Etruscan painting finally freed itself from this tradition only in the fourth century BC, when the methods of painting and the subjects represented clearly changed. As mentioned above, the Tomb of the Blue Demons changed our perception of the iconography used in funerary painting in the fifth century BC by introducing for the first time the figure of the Greek Charun on his boat and terrifying Etruscan demons. But it is not until the middle of the fourth century BC that we see a marked emphasis on this type of subject-matter. The status of the figures is highlighted by inscriptions (Tomb of Orcus I, Tomb of the Shields, Tomb of the Inscriptions) as they appear reclining on couches. In addition, sometimes these individuals are depicted over a dark cloud background suggesting an underworld setting where Hades and Persephone could be part of the banquet too, as seen in the Golini Tomb I in Orvieto (350-325 BC).[267] In addition, Etruscan winged demons of death such as Charu(n) and Vanth add to this underworld realm. In some cases,

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Meer 1984, 298-304.

[265] For example, the Tomb of the Baron and Tomb of the Inscriptions show stylistic resemblances with painting in southern Ionia, the Tomb of the Augurs and Tomb of the Giocolieri with Phocean, and the Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing with Samian painting. See Naso 2005, 26-27.

[266] *EP*, 54.

[267] On the clouds, see below p. 141.

however, the focus is on domestic decoration, as seen in the Tomb of the Reliefs at Cerveteri or on weaponry (shields, swords, helmets) as observed in the Giglioli Tomb at Tarquinia, both dated towards the end of the fourth century BC.[268]

The number of Etruscan tombs decorated with scenes or figures derived from the Greek mythological tradition is nevertheless dramatically low, with just a few exemplars **(Table 2)**. Before our period of study, depictions include the ambush of Achilles against Troilos in the Tomb of the Bulls at Tarquinia (*ca*. 540 BC) and the scene with the Greek Charun in his boat in the Tomb of the Blue Demons mentioned above.[269] In the fourth century BC, myths are the subject of two tombs: the *Nekyia* depicted in Tomb of Orcus II at Tarquinia (350-300 BC) and the episode of Achilles' sacrifice of the Trojan prisoners alongside other heroic figures in the François Tomb at Vulci (340-310 BC). As Steingräber states, the representation of the dead in a heroic Homeric milieu, surrounded by Greek heroes and myths portrays the Etruscan elites as qualified exponents of Greek culture.[270]

[268] For the Tomb of the Reliefs, see Blanck 1986; for the Giglioli Tomb, see *EP* no. 69.
[269] *EP* no. 120.
[270] *EP*, 59.

Origin	City/area	Tomb	Date (BC)	Total	Mythological Depictions
Southern Etruria	Tarquinia	T. of the Cock T. 3713 T. of the Gorgoneion T. 808 T. 2327 T. 3242 T. 3697 T. of the Warrior T. of the Pigmei	400-350	12	1
		T. of Orcus I T. of the Shields **T. of Orcus II** Giglioli T.	350-300		
	Vulci	**François T.**		1	1
	Cerveteri	T. of the Reliefs		1	-
	Orvieto	Golini T. I Golini T. II		2	-
Northern Etruria	Sarteano	T. of the Infernal Quadriga		1	-
Total				**17**	**2**

Table 2. Find-spots and number of Etruscan tomb paintings (400-300 BC).

2.2. Sarcophagi

2.2.1. Chronology and typology

In contrast to tomb painting, the history of carved and painted stone sarcophagi is shorter (approximately hundred and fifty years). They did not appear until the middle of the fourth century BC, while the last exemplars date to about 200 BC. In this period of time there were changes in the subjects depicted on them. Mythological subjects are common during the second half of the fourth century BC, especially Trojan and Theban myths. After the final Roman conquest of Etruria (294-264 BC),

the majority of sarcophagi display non-mythological themes.[271] The most recent monograph on Etruscan mythological sarcophagi to date was published a decade ago by Van der Meer, in which he observes that the most important centres of production were Tarquinia and Tuscania **(Table 3)**.[272]

Origin	City/area	Total	Mythological Depictions
Southern Etruria	Cerveteri	2	-
	Tarquinia	50	8
	Musarna	10	-
	San Giuliano	3	-
	Viterbo	5	-
	Vulci	8	2
	Tuscania	39	6
	Norchia	11	-
	Bomarzo	3	-
	Orvieto	2	1
Northern Etruria	Chiusi	10	-
	Volterra	3	-
Unknown	Tarq./Tusc.(?)	3	-
Total		**148**	**17**

Table 3. Provenance and number of decorated stone sarcophagi (adapted from Van der Meer 2004, 4).

A sarcophagus is composed of a lid and a coffin. The lids of Etruscan sarcophagi usually show flat lying figures or a gable roof. In some cases, the heads of the figures on the lids are turned to the viewer.[273]

Turning to the coffins, four types of Etruscan sarcophagi developed during the second half of the fourth century BC.[274] The earliest sarcophagi were made of marble

[271] Van der Meer 2004, 1. For the Roman conquest of Etruria in the third century BC, see Torelli 1981 [2009], 251-278, esp. 251-256; *Id*. 1985.

[272] Van der Meer 2004, 4.

[273] For example, in *H* no. 72, *H* no. 74 and *H* no. 120. However, according to Herbig, some sarcophagi in the Tomb of the Sarcophagi at Cerveteri were found with their front sides turned to the wall. For a typology of the lids, see Brendel 1978, 387-392. More recently, Van der Meer 2004, 13, figs. 2-5.

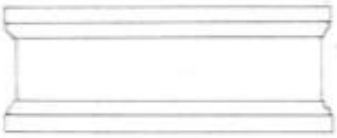
or of alabaster. They belong to the type that imitates wooden coffins, known to us through numerous examples as 'frieze sarcophagi' (350-325 BC). A recent study has shown a possible Greek origin of the form known by numerous contemporary items from Kerch and Alexandria.[275] The Etruscans imported these marble sarcophagi from Greece and Greek colonies and added painted decorations after arrival. The so-called Sarcophagus of the Priest **[Cat. 33]** is of Greek island marble and it testifies to the relations between Carthage and Etruria.[276] Later, local materials such as *tufo*, *nenfro* or limestone were used in the creation of other types, such as the sarcophagi of panel type and the architectonic sarcophagi (both with either large or small filling) as seen, for example, in the Sarcophagus from Torre San Severo **[Cat. 31]** and in the Sarcophagus of the Magnate **[Cat. 34]**. Finally, most of the sarcophagi with mythological depictions belong to the architectonic type (*ca*. 300 BC), also known as 'hall-sarcophagi' **(Table 4)**.[277]

[274] Goethert 1974, 235-236. Van der Meer (2004, 10) distinguishes three types: *Holztruhen-type* (HT-type), *Parastadensarkophagus* (PT-type) and Hall-sarcophagi (H), with the first two being equivalent to the 'frieze' and 'panel' type of sarcophagus respectively. However, he implies that the 'frieze' and 'architectonic' types are the same (p. 11). In my study I have clearly differentiated them to avoid confusion.

[275] Weber Lehmann 2007, 141-151.

[276] See Macintosh-Turfa 1986, 81-83; Haynes, 2000, 292.

[277] For the relation between myths and their depiction on hall-sarcophagi, see Van der Meer 1993.

Date (BC)	Type	Sarcophagus	Cat. no.
350-300	Frieze		**33** **35**
	Panels	 Large fill	**31** **48**
		 Small fill	- **-**
330-300	Architectonic	 Large fill	**44*** **45** **46**
		 Medium/Small fill	**34** (S) **36** (M)
ca. 300	Hall		**37** **38** **39** **40** **41** **42** **43**

*Transitional

Table 4. Types of Etruscan sarcophagi ca. 350-300 BC.

2.2.2. Decoration

Four-sidedness was the rule for the decoration of painted and carved coffins. In some cases, the intended location in the tomb may explain one or more undecorated sides, as for example in some sarcophagi with reliefs on one long and one short side only.[278] This phenomenon is observed, for example, in a few sarcophagi from the Tomb of the Curunas I and II in Tuscania.[279] In general, Etruscan artists decorated long sides with a large number of figures and motifs leaving short ones with no more than two or three figures, often duplicating the subject on both short sides.

Concerning the painted decoration on imported marble sarcophagi or on those made of alabaster; the general agreement is that they were made in Etruria.[280] In some cases, different artists were working on the same monument, as a stylistic analysis of the paintings in the Amazon Sarcophagus in Florence **[Cat. 35]** has revealed.[281] Nevertheless, Brecoulaki demonstrated through comparative technical analysis that the paintings on this 'Etruscan' sarcophagus correspond to a Greek workshop of Magna Graecia, possibly at Taranto. This would imply that an Etruscan patron ordered a Greek monument from South Italy rather than commissioning the monument from Etruscan (or other central Italian) artists.[282] Relief sarcophagi, in contrast, were almost certainly produced in Etruscan workshops and carved by Etruscan artists as they usually show freer, strong local styles.

Inscriptions were part of the decoration too. They were often added to the lids or to the coffins, usually on the front, indicating the name of the deceased, family and rank. Painted or carved subjects are also part of a sarcophagus' decoration. Common subjects in the earliest stone sarcophagi were animals fighting,

[278] See Brendel 1978, 379.
[279] See **[Cat. 45]** and **[Cat. 46]**.
[280] See Hitzl 1991; Bottini and Setari 2007.
[281] Bottini and Setari 2007, 70-72.
[282] See Brecoulaki 2001, 21-34, 41-42 (table). Nonetheless, the symmetries on the short sides and the Etruscan inscription on the lid and the one added later on the chest, would not exclude the possibility that the paintings were made by an Etruscan artist.

Amazonomachies and demons of death. Amazonomachies may also appear together with Trojan myths or battle scenes, as seen in **[Cat. 33]** and in **[Cat. 37]**. Around 300 BC Trojan and Theban myths were popular, and in some cases they appear combined **[Cat. 38]**.[283] As Brendel correctly states, the combination of myths in a coffin must be considered an Etruscan addition to the iconography of death.[284]

The mythological iconography of sarcophagi is to some extent different from contemporary fourth century BC tomb painting, and utterly rests within the Greek tradition.[285] Alongside the Amazonomachy, the subject of the slaughter of the Trojan prisoners by Achilles enjoyed some popularity in Etruria during the last decades of the fourth century BC.[286] The episode was depicted on a wall of the François Tomb at Vulci and on three sarcophagi, most of the times juxtaposed with other mythological episodes.[287] By underlining the victory of the Greeks, the scene is often explained as demonstrating that Etruscan noblemen aimed at being compared with the Greek heroes of the Trojan War, whereas the Romans were equated with the Trojans.[288] Nonetheless, the depictions in the Sarcophagus of the Priest **[Cat. 33]** show that this view is simplistic. Here, the subject of Achilles sacrificing the Trojans is framed by an Amazonomachy in which demons of death appear. Therefore, it seems reasonable to think that when scenes of sacrifice and battle appear on funerary monuments they must have followed another requirement. They are scenes that allow the artist the possibility to depict blood, thus highlighting the important role that blood plays in the

[283] **[Cat. 31]** and *H* no. 63 respectively, both *ca*. 300 BC. Although the authenticity of **[Cat. 31]** has been questioned by Cagiano (1970, 10-18) and Krauskopf (1987, 64 n. 192), the current agreement is that the monument is original. See van der Meer 2004, 29. For Theban myths in Etruscan art, see Krauskopf 1974. Simon (2000, 284-290) argues that Theban mythological themes may have been used as pro-Alexander propaganda after he destroyed the city in 335 BC.

[284] Brendel 1978, 380.

[285] *EP*, 15.

[286] Hom. *Il*. 23.175-176.

[287] *H* no. 121, *H* no. 73 and on a sarcophagus from Tuscania, which is currently displayed at Sintra (**[Cat. 33]**, **[Cat. 31]** and **[Cat. 41]** respectively). The subject of Achilles sacrificing the Trojan prisoners has been studied by Maggiani (1985) and Zevi (1996).

[288] This seems to be confirmed by the construction of a *heroon* over the so-called Tomb of Aeneas at Lavinium, in Latium, after its opening in the fourth century BC. See Bonfante 1986, 10 n. 59.

cult of the dead, as noted by Haynes, De Grummond and Bonfante.[289] This is something very different from the Greek iconography of the *Iliad*.

3. Regional case studies

3.1. Southern Etruria

3.1.1. Orvieto

Only one sarcophagus in Orvieto bears mythological depictions, while contemporary tomb painting in this area – as seen in the Golini Tombs I and II, as well as in the Tomb of the Hescanas – show funerary processions and banquet scenes, sometimes with Hades and Persephone.[290]

The so-called Sarcophagus from Torre San Severo **[Cat. 31]**, a small site in the vicinity of Orvieto, was found inside a tomb in 1916. For some time, its authenticity was doubted but the current opinion is that the sarcophagus is an original work made by local artists (Fig. 77). It is sculpted on all four sides depicting scenes related to the Trojan Cycle and Odysseus' adventures. There is an Etruscan deity of death carved on each panel of the long sides (panel sarcophagus). Side A shows Achilles' immolation of the Trojan prisoners flanked by representations of the female deity Vanth. In the middle stands Achilles, with left foot extended, holding his victim by the hair with his left hand while killing him with the right. The shade of Patroclus stands behind Achilles and his victim (Fig. 78). The dead hero wears bandages on his chest and around his head while his left hand touches his own funerary monument. To the left of the central scene and behind a dead Trojan appear Persephone and Hades.[291] To the right, by contrast, are probably the two Ajantes and

[289] Haynes 2000, 294; De Grummond 2006, 209-210; Bonfante 2012, 67-82. For ritual aspects of the cult of the dead, see Camporeale 2009, 220-238, esp. 232-237. For other rites and cults as depicted in Etruscan tomb-painting, see Weber-Lehmann 2012, 273-281.
[290] *EP* nos. 32-34.
[291] The identity of the couple is suggested by a similar representation with inscriptions in *the*

more Trojans with Charun on the panel at the far right (Fig. 80).

The depiction on the long side B parallels that on side A: there is a grave monument, a wounded man and another man sacrificing a female figure with his sword in front of several witnesses; this time Neoptolemos sacrifices Polyxena in front of Achilles' tomb (Fig. 79). At the far left, a man holds a curved baton, thus being some kind of priest. Next to him, there is a man who could be Nestor or Calchas. Then, another man holds a sceptre, probably Agamemnon.[292] The wounded male figure standing at the right of the sacrifice scene has bandages on his chest and around his head, in the same way as Patroclus does on the other side of the sarcophagus.[293] To the right of the central scene stand Odysseus and two other warriors.

The short sides show Odyssean episodes. Side C has four figures: in the centre, Odysseus threatens Circe with his sword (Fig. 82). The scene is framed by two of the hero's companions, each in an ambiguous state; they have animal heads but human bodies. Similarly, the other short side (D) depicts Odysseus slaying a ram in the company of two young men, one of them kneeling next to the animal (Fig. 81). They probably are Eurylochos and Perimedes, the men who performed the prescribed rites to the dead when, according to Homer, Odysseus went to the underworld.[294] Yet, at the top of the scene the sculptor depicted something unusual. There is a cartoon-like image with palm trees, birds, dolphins, and a boat. Because of this, the scene suggests an underworld setting, thus illustrating the purpose of the sacrifice.

In this sarcophagus, the sculptor has juxtaposed four scenes that are united by a similar composition and subject. For example, we see that each scene depicts a

Tomb of Orcus II. See Galli 1916, 44-47.

[292] Massa-Pairault 1992, 130.

[293] Bandages of wounded dead men are also depicted on a fragment of an Apulian red-figure vase.

[294] Hom. *Od*. 11.23.

man who is killing or threatening to kill his victim; the latter placed on the right. Thematically, on all four sides prevails the idea of death closely connected to that of the sacrifice. This is further emphasised not only by depictions of Vanth and Charun on the panels, but also by the presence of Hades and Persephone witnessing the immolation of the Trojans, the shades of Patroclus and Achilles observing the blood poured in their honour and the Greeks sacrificing Polyxena and other Trojans.[295] In fact, there are some parallels on the long sides: while Achilles revenges and honours Patroclus, the other side shows Neoptolemos sacrificing to his father. The shadows of the dead appear in both cases. Therefore, Achilles' consecration to his companion is compared to a son's duty to his father. Similarly, the short sides narrate two consecutive episodes in which Odysseus participates: on one side, we observe the moment in which Circe, placing her hand on her head indicating surprise, realises Odysseus is immune to her potions.[296] His companions, by contrast, were not capable to resist them and appear in an ambiguous state between animal and human. Another crucial moment of the Odyssey appears on the other short side. This time, Odysseus performs the rites to preparing his visit to the underworld, an exploit permitted only to heroes. In this way, the iconographic programme of this sarcophagus is based on some of the key moments of the Homeric poems. It juxtaposes values of retribution and honouring the dead.

3.1.2. Tarquinia

Trojan and Theban myths are the subjects on eight sarcophagi found at Tarquinia, as well as in one example of tomb painting (Tomb of Orcus II). Tarquinia is the only find spot where painted and carved sarcophagi have been found, and where the largest number of this type of funerary monument has been found to date, most of them in

[295] For the gender contraposition of the demons and victims depicted on the panels (i.e, female demons framing a male victim and male demons a female victim), see Van der Meer 2004, 28.
[296] Hom. *Od*. 10.319-26.

the Monterozzi necropolis (Figs. 83-84). Depictions of myth on Tarquinian tomb painting and sarcophagi can be summarised as follows **(Table 5)**.

Cat. no	Date (BC)	Technique	Myths		
			Trojan	Theban	Other
32	325-300	Frescoes	√		√
33	350-340	Painting	√		
34	330-300	Reliefs	√		√
35	350-325	Painting	√		
36	330-300	Painting	√ (?)		
37	330-300	Reliefs	√		
38	*ca*. 300	Reliefs	√	√	
39	*ca*. 300	Reliefs	√	√	
40	*ca*. 300	Reliefs	√	√	√

Table 5. Tarquinian funerary monuments with depictions of Greek myth.

The Tomb of Orcus II **[Cat. 32]**, whose name derives from the Latin name for Hades, is located beneath the modern cemetery in the Monterozzi necropolis. It was found in 1868 and is part of a larger complex composed of two single chamber tombs (Orcus I and II) connected through a passage between the two (Orcus III). Originally, two *dromoi* used to run parallel to access Tomb of Orcus I and II respectively. Today, nonetheless, only the *dromos* of Tomb of Orcus I is accessible (Fig. 85). Therefore, modern visitors can access Tomb of Orcus II via Orcus III, giving us a different view of the images on the walls than that experienced by the the ancient viewer, who would have entered through the tomb's door. Resembling Tomb of Orcus I (*ca*. 350 BC), Tomb of Orcus II (325-300 BC) also had a gabled roof, now extensively destroyed (Fig. 86). The latter has a supporting pillar and signs of two reliefs on the door jambs (part of a leg and a shoe).

Only some paintings are still extant, often in a very fragmentary condition (Fig. 87). The paintings to the left of the entrance wall are almost completely destroyed, except for a large bearded snake and the remains of a demon carrying a hammer moving to the right; above, some scant traces of the feet of a male figure

and the wings of a demon. The inscriptions *tupi* and *sispes* indicate that it represented the punishment of Sisyphus.[297] The remaining paintings to the right of the entrance are not better preserved. It shows the feet of a man and a sheep, perhaps the arrival of a dead man in the underworld or Heracles and Cerberus, as some scholars suppose (Fig. 95).[298] The right wall shows the Etruscan demon *Tuchulcha* (inscribed), with bird head and snake hair, holding snakes; on the left below, the remains of a seated Peirithoos; on the right Theseus (*These*) seated under a rock, naked to the waste and perhaps playing dice (Figs. 93-94).[299] Around the corner, on the right wall of the former *loculus*, there is a *kylikeion* with five gilded vessels on top (amphorae and kraters), while below there are two large stamnoi and a large cup (Fig. 92).[300] A naked blond youth with bracelets holding a jug and a patera (Hypnos?) stands next to the vessels, while further to the left a naked blond youth with wings carries an alabastron (Thanatos?). The fact that this figure is facing to the left suggest that this scene was part of larger painting, which probably continued along the right wall, now destroyed.

The left wall, however, is partially preserved (Fig. 91). It shows the remains of a landscape with reeds, of two winged demons, of an inscription, and of more figures (perhaps Odysseus and Achilles). Still extant and clearly identified are Agamemnon (*Achmemrun*), bearded and blond-haired, wearing the bandages of his wounds, a red leafless tree with small dark ithyphallic figures hanging from its branches (perhaps *eidola*); Tiresias' shadow (*hinthial Teriasals*), bearded, in a cloak with head veiled and carrying a sword; another red tree and the remains of the torso and back head of Ajax (*Aivas*).[301] The tomb's rear wall shows the remains of a winged demon with snake hair. A rocky scene marks the entrance to the underworld with the remains of

[297] *CIE* 5373; *TLE* (2) 86.
[298] Torelli 1985, 14.
[299] *EP*, 330.
[300] On *kylikeia* in Etruscan tomb painting, see Van der Meer 1984.
[301] See details of the paintings in Steingräber 2006b and 2006c (English and French publication respectively).

an animal foot (Orthros?) and Geryoneus (*Cerun*), three headed and bearded wearing armour and carrying a shield and a spear (Fig. 89).[302] Finally, there is Persephone (*Phersipnei*) with snake hair, and Hades (*Aita*) wearing a wolf cap, seated on a throne with right hand stretched forward and left hand raised with snake (Fig. 90). A large snake is behind the couple, who are immersed in clouds.

Being a niche in the rear wall, the paintings in Tomb of Orcus III are less visible than the others. It shows a naked Odysseus (*Uthuste*) blinding Polyphemus (*Cuclu*) with a large stake. The one-eye giant, bearded, is lying naked on the ground; the remains of a flock of sheep are on the right (Figs. 96-97).

Turning to Tarquinian sarcophagi, the so-called Sarcophagus of the Priest **[Cat. 33]** and the Sarcophagus of the Magnate **[Cat. 34]** were found in the same tomb in 1876. They were part of a group of 26 sarcophagi in the Tomb of the Partunu in the Monterozzi necropolis, showing that the tomb was used by various generations. While the Sarcophagus of the Priest has paintings, the sarcophagus of the Magnate shows reliefs. Both sarcophagi have a figured lid and inscriptions, and feature Amazons fighting male opponents alongside other epic episodes.[303]

The figure on the lid of **[Cat. 33]** is similar to that of a Carthaginian sarcophagus, on which a flat male figure holds a *pyxis* in his left hand. This indicates that this sarcophagus was imported to Etruria where it was painted after arrival. The long side A shows Achilles' slaughter of the Trojans framed by Amazonomachies, which has no parallel on other monuments (Figs. 98-99).[304] Both groups on the front are composed of an Amazon and a falling male warrior. Amazons wear a long dress and are armed with a sword and a shield, but not the traditional *pelta*. From left to right, the main depiction on this side shows Charun, a Greek warrior, a standing

[302] Steingräber suggest Cerberus, but it is more likely to be Orthros, the dog of Geryoneus. See Torelli 1985, 11.
[303] In this discussion, I will avoid reference to male warriors as 'Greeks'.
[304] Van der Meer 2004, 32. For a discussion of the central scene in this sarcophagus, see Blanck 1982.

Trojan prisoner, Patroclus wearing bandages, Achilles slaughtering a seated Trojan prisoner, and a non-identifiable figure.[305] On the right side stands Ajax (Telamon) and Ajax (Oileus). They are differentiated by their different sizes, holding each a Trojan prisoner.[306] Finally, there is a Greek warrior. The Greeks are dressed and armed in contrast to the Trojan prisoners who are naked. The figures are not inscribed, but the theme has iconographic parallels with other contemporary monuments.

Depictions of Amazons fighting male opponents continue on the short sides and on the long side B of the sarcophagus (Figs. 100-103). While the short sides show Amazons on horseback and a fallen warrior (one of them is being taken by a winged demon), on the rear they fight on foot. Here, thirteen figures are arranged in four groups. Winged demons of death take the fallen warriors. It is not clear whether in the last group the female figure is being taken by a demon or is being helped by one of her companions. The latter was a popular iconographical motif known to us from copies of the shield of Athena Parthenos in Athens, but this is the only example of a possible 'helper group' in Etruscan sarcophagi.[307] The motif, nevertheless, appears more frequently on Greek vases which were part of the visual culture of the Etruscans.

The sarcophagus of the Magnate **[Cat. 34]** belongs to a different type: it is an architectonic sarcophagus with small filling decorated with figures in relief (Fig. 104).[308] The lid features a reclining male figure, *Velthur Partunus*, as named by the inscription below. In this sarcophagus an Amazonomachy on both long sides is, however, combined with a Centauromachy and the flight of Orestes and Pylades on the long side B. A rocky landscape and trees appear on the background illustrating that the scene takes place outside, a missing feature in **[Cat. 33]**. Amazons fight on

[305] A 'wingless Vanth' (Van der Meer 2004, 33).
[306] Although the Ajantes depicted on this sarcophagus and in the François Tomb do not appear in *Il*. 23, they do appear in other books of the *Iliad* where they usually fight together. See D'Agostino 2003, 105-107; Van der Meer 2004, 32.
[307] For the different motifs on the shield of Athena Parthenos, see E. Harrison 1981, ill. 11.
[308] Goethert 1974, 235.

foot and wear a short chiton (Fig. 107). They are armed with shield and axes. Apart from two male figures wearing a blowing mantle, all male warriors are nude. While on **[Cat. 33]** the male warriors lose five times and the Amazons only one, on the long side A of **[Cat. 34]** one Amazon and one male warrior are defeated. Yet, the outcome is unclear in the other four groups as well as on the duels carved on both sides (Figs. 105-106, 110). The long side B is more complex. In the middle of the frieze, a female figure facing to the right, with right arm stretched forward divides the two episodes depicted on this side of the sarcophagus (Fig. 109). To the left, two male figures framed by winged demons may represent the flight of Orestes and Pylades; whereas to the right seven figures arranged into two groups show a Centauromachy (Fig. 108).

Contemporary to these two sarcophagi in the Tomb of the Partunu is **[Cat. 35]**, the so-called Sarcophagus of the Amazons in Florence (350-325 BC) featuring painted Amazonomachies on all four sides and the death of Actaeon rendered in painted relief on both tympana of the lid (Fig. 111).[309] This sarcophagus was the object of a study in a recent publication by Bottini and Setari, providing new and interesting information about its creation.[310] Despite being a frieze sarcophagus it looks like a hall one, but the columns on the long sides are painted instead of carved. This alabaster sarcophagus belonged to a woman, *Ramtha Huzcnai*, mother of a magistrate, as inscriptions on the lid and on one of the long sides attest. The reliefs on the lid and the paintings were made –although this is still debated– in South Italy, possibly Taranto.[311] While Amazons fight on foot on the long side A and on the two short sides (Figs. 112-113, 116-117**)**, they fight from *quadrigae* on the long side B

[309] For the Actaeon figure as possibly representing the Master of the Animals, see Warden 2009, 203.
[310] Bottini and Setari 2007.
[311] *Cf.* above, p. 97.

(Figs. 114-115).[312] They are armed with spears, swords, axes and *peltae*. On side A, Amazons wear a belted chiton, and a long dress on side B and short sides. Oriental-looking caps, jewellery (earrings, necklace and armband), shoes and greaves complement their costumes.[313] Two of them wear trousers in the oriental manner. Nude Amazons are seen on side A and on one of the short sides, but still wear pointed shoes.[314] The garment of the male warriors is similar to that on the Priest Sarcophagus. They wear short *chitoniskoi* with fancy cuirasses, greaves and crested helmets. On the long side B four male warriors depicted in the middle of the scene are surrounded by *quadrigae* approaching from both ends and driven by two Amazons wearing long dresses (Figs. 114-115). The warriors who are closer to the chariots are about to being crushed under the horses' legs with dramatic gestures and expressions. The short sides are composed of three figures. One of them shows a fallen male warrior surrounded by two Amazons (Fig. 116). On the other short side, a male warrior strikes a nude fallen Amazon with a spear, while another Amazon wearing a long dress approaches him from the right (Fig. 117).

The scenes on all four sides of this sarcophagus are set in a rocky landscape over a pink background, similar to the background observed in later polychrome vases from Apulia.[315] Some traditional motifs in Greek art appear as seen, for example, in a duel where the front legs of the proportionally small horse almost embrace the thigh of the male warrior,[316] and in the 'hair-pulling' motif known to us from the reliefs on the shield of Athena Parthenos and the Amazonomachy frieze

[312] This, however, is not unique to sarcophagi since Amazons in quadrigae are also depicted in Attic black-figure. See Bothmer 1957, 68 no. 33 pl. 50, 7b-c and p. 88 no. 201-202 pl. 58, 1 and 3 for two hydriai from Vulci (*ABV* p. 409 and p. 362, no. 32 respectively).

[313] See Bottini and Setari 2007, 50.

[314] Bonfante 2003, 59-66, figs. 139-41.

[315] For example, in a *prochoos* from Canosa showing a woman driving a quadriga over a pink background (Bari, Museo della Provincia). See Borda 1966, 62, pl. 23. See also the polychrome vases from the later *corredo* found in the Varrese Tomb (*PIV*, 310-321, esp. nos. 1-3, 7).

[316] Horse legs embracing human thighs are also seen in the Parthenon South metopes (centaurs).

from the Mausoleum.[317] In Italy, the same motif occurs on a fragmentary relief from Taranto and in other objects from Praeneste.[318]

Traces of a painted battle scene, perhaps an Amazonomachy, appear on **[Cat. 36]**. This sarcophagus belongs to *Larth Alvethnas* (inscription) dated to 330-300 BC. Judging by his garments, he was probably a haruspex. This sarcophagus was found in the middle of the chamber tomb and is the only decorated one (Figs. 119-120). The other sarcophagi in this tomb were placed aligned along the walls.[319]

An Amazonomachy in relief was also the subject of the long side B of **[Cat. 37]**. This sarcophagus belongs to the hall type (330-300 BC) and its lid has a reclining male figure. The Amazonomachy is juxtaposed with scenes from the *Iliad* on the long side B, while a man in a *quadriga* is depicted on each of the short sides. Amazons wear either a belted chiton or they are depicted in the oriental manner with trousers and sleeves (Fig. 122). They fight on foot and are armed with *peltae*, axe, bow and arrow, and sword. Her male opponents wear a short *chitoniskos*, sometimes with mantle and cuirass. Two figures wear oriental-looking caps.

The long side A, by contrast, bears depictions from Homer's *Iliad* as interpreted by Svoronos after its discovery.[320] The front shows nine male figures arranged in five scenes (Fig. 121). The first scene on the left shows a Trojan warrior wearing a Phrygian cap facing Odysseus who wears his typical hat, the *pilos*. The second scene shows a Trojan warrior facing Ajax.[321] The central figure is a Greek warrior armed with a bow and blowing on a shell. He might be Teucros, who usually

[317] This is similar, but not equal to figures 4-5 from the 'death-leap group' on the shield of Athena Parthenos (see Harrison 1981, ill. 11). A similar motif appears on slabs BM 534 (East) and 535 (West) on the frieze of the Temple of Apollo at Bassae in the British Museum.

[318] This relief is now in Budapest, Szepmuveszeti Museum 88. See Carter 1975, 59, no. 56, pl. 12d; Bottini and Setari 2007, 86, fig. 10. The motif appears in a cista and in a mirror with Heracles from Praeneste. See *AE* no. 13.

[319] Cataldi 2001, 19-21.

[320] Svoronos 1836, 105-110; Herbig 1952, no. 119.

[321] *Il*. 11.563-4.

fights next to Ajax.[322] The third pair of warriors is Eurypylos and Paris, as we know that the former was hit on the right leg by Paris.[323] In Book 11, he is the last of the Achaeans to be wounded. In spite of his physical pain he stands for having a 'firm' spirit. If this interpretation is correct, the warrior next to the scene should be Patroclus taking care of Eurypylos' wound.[324]

There are differences between Homer's text and the reliefs on the front of this sarcophagus. The blowing on a shell is an anachronism (this musical instrument occurs in battle scenes on other sarcophagi), and Eurypylos' left thigh is wounded instead of his right one. Svoronos noted that this is due to technical reasons and Van der Meer agrees with him.[325] However, the mixture of scenes from different books of the *Iliad*, including the depiction of Eurypylos' 'wrong' wounded leg suggest that the artist was not illustrating a particular literary text; rather, he was inspired by oral tradition. This is further supported by the depiction on the left short side (Fig. 124). Here a man is depicted on a quadriga moving to the right. If this is Achilles, the depiction would be different from the text where a *biga* is mentioned.[326] A Phrygian cap and a shield – the spoils taken from the dead Hektor – are visible on the back of the chariot.[327] It has been suggested that the other short side of this sarcophagus probably represents a bearded Patroclus standing on a quadriga (Fig. 123).[328] As a result, **[Cat. 37]** is a sarcophagus where all four sides are thematically related to the Trojan cycle. While the outcome is unclear on the long sides; the left short side clearly underlines Achilles' triumph, which symbolizes the triumph of the Greeks.

[322] Hom. *Il*. 12.371.
[323] *Ibid*. 11.583-5.
[324] Hom. *Il*. 11.807-11. According to Svoronos, the last warrior should be one of the Myrmidons, bringing Patroclus the weapons of Achilles. The latter scene, however, is not told in Book 11. Therefore, it is probable that a later episode was depicted. In Book 16, for example, Patroclus talks to Achilles and asks for his armour while mentioning the many wounded companions, one of whom is Eurypylos (Hom. *Il*. 16.27). For the selected fragments from the *Iliad* supporting this interpretation, see Van der Meer 2004, 44-45.
[325] Van der Meer 2004, 46.
[326] Hom. *Il*. 19.399; 22. 399.
[327] Another sarcophagus from Tuscania showing Achilles provides comparative material. The hero is also on a quadriga, dragging Hektor's corpse **[Cat. 42]**.
[328] *H*, 62, no. 118; Van der Meer 2004, 46.

Two Tarquinian sarcophagi show complex juxtapositions of Trojan and Theban myths, sometimes depicted in the same frieze line: the so-called London Sarcophagus **[Cat. 38],** now in the British Museum and the sarcophagus of the Poet **[Cat. 39]** now in the Vatican Museum.

[Cat. 38] is decorated with reliefs on all four sides. The inscription on one of the short sides, mentions *Lars Curunas*, probably a priest (*mar[vas]*) of the *spura* (district or community) in Tarquinia. A skeleton with weapons was found inside the coffin suggesting that he was also a soldier.[329] The long side A of this sarcophagus shows from left to right a male figure assaulting a nude female figure who has fled for refuge to an altar, behind which stands a male figure (Fig. 125).[330] On the far left a young man tries to restrain the first male figure, grasping his right arm with both hands. In Greek art a similar scene is observed in depictions of a winged Eros holding Menelaus in his attack to Helen, but in this sarcophagus the figure on the left does not look like Eros. Because of this, Steuernagel suggests that Cassandra (and not Helen) is the woman being attacked.[331] Yet, in Greek representations of Cassandra, Ajax is not usually restrained. To the right of this scene a bearded man with naked torso leads a bound, naked victim to the altar. Then, approximately in the centre of the frieze and frontally rendered, stands a winged female demon holding a torch downwards. Next, there is the duel between two male figures watched by another male figure. This is probably the duel between Eteocles and Polynices

[329] Van der Meer 2004, 48.

[330] It could be also a half-figure placed on the altar, perhaps a statue of a god.

[331] Steuernagel 1998, 46. The same ambivalence applies to interpreting a similar scene (but with a winged male figure restraining the male figure) depicted on a red-figure Etruscan krater by the Entonnoir Group (Mayence, Röm.-Germ. Mus. 0.38835; *LIMC*, Aias II, no. 97). Likewise, the episode appears on an engraved mirror in Paris (Louvre 1744; *ES* 5, pl. 399). However, the labels inscribed on a mirror in London (BM 627; *ES* 5, pl. 398) identifying the figures as Helen and Menelaos adds to the scheme a bearded figure on the other side of the altar, probably Ajax.

observed by their father Oedipus, led by a male helper.[332] The scene is followed by a female figure who has fallen on her knees while helped by a man. If the final scene shows Jocasta it is interesting to observe these three Theban scenes grouped in the right half of this long side. In these scenes it seems that the artist focused on the misery of the parents, caused by their dying sons.[333] Steurnagel's reading of the scene on the left side as Cassandra seems now more likely considering that a Cassandra's scene appears also juxtaposed with the duel between Eteocles and Polynices in the François Tomb.

The right short side (D) shows a man confronting a woman (Fig. 127, right). To the left stands a male, wearing cloak and belt, directing his left arm towards the female figure. To the right a veiled, anguished old man with a stick turns his back to the scene. His attitude is similar to that of Agamemnon in scenes representing the sacrifice of his daughter Iphigenia. Therefore, the scene has been interpreted as Neoptolemos sacrificing Polyxena. The left short side shows the duel between Ajax and Odysseus for Achilles' weapons (Fig, 127, left).[334] The warrior on the right is about draw his sword. Two men restrain the heroes, one on either side.

The long side B of this sarcophagus shows a complex battle frieze (Fig. 126). From left to right there is a warrior led away from the battle field by a male assistant. Both figures wear short tunics; the assistant wears perhaps a cuirass, but his head is missing. Next to them, a frontally rendered winged female demon holding a torch turns to the right while the figures next to her present a helmeted man who has fallen on his right knee and a frontal, naked man probably attacking him (his torso and head are missing). The scene is followed by a naked male figure beating another

[332] This idea appears in Van der Meer 2004, 51. However, I was not able to find any iconographic parallel for the figure of Oedipus assisted by a male figure on Apulian vases. The closest parallel is found in the figure of the blind Tiresias (or the messenger) in scenes that seem to be informed by *Oedipus Rex*. For example, in the Apulian red-figure oinochoe, *ca*. 330 BC by the Darius Painter in Basel (Antikenmuseum BS 473; *RVAp* 18, 73a; *LIMC*, Oedipous 84).

[333] Van der Meer 2004, 51.

[334] *H*, 36, no. 63.

naked man who is falling back. At the same time, a female winged death demon seizes him by the hair while another male figure, overlapping the female figure, approaches the scene to strike the fallen warrior as if she were invisible. The group on the right is composed by three figures in a similar scheme as the previous scene: it shows a helmeted man, attacking a fallen naked warrior while a female winged death demon stands behind him. The identity of the aggressors and their victims in this battle frieze is difficult to decipher; perhaps it is a battle between Greeks and Trojans. The outcome, nonetheless, is unclear: on the left side the 'Greeks' seem to be losing, while on the right the 'Trojans' are beaten.

The representations on the long side A may connect the fate of Troy with that of Thebes, while a female demon stands in the middle to separate the different stories. The depictions on the long side B could be inspired by contemporary wars between Etruscans and Romans. The scenes on this coffin are, to some extent, similar to the iconographical programme of the sarcophagus from Torre San Severo discussed above: the slaughter of one or more Trojans, the sacrifice of Polyxena and the deeds of Odysseus. Additionally, if the scene on the left side of the long side A was intended as Ajax and Cassandra, then its juxtaposition with the duel between Eteocles and Polynices on the right would show affinities with the iconographic programme in the Tomba François **[Cat. 32]** as well.

Equally interesting is the so-called Sarcophagus of the Poet **[Cat. 49]**. This sarcophagus shows tragic scenes on all four sides.[335] One of the long sides (A) shows scenes related to the death of Aegisthos and Clytemnestra, and the flight of Orestes. The other long side (B) shows five Theban scenes. The left short side shows Telephos abducting child Orestes (Fig. 132), whereas the right short side depicts the sacrifice of a female figure, perhaps Iphigenia or Polyxena (Fig. 133). Although all four sides are thematically unrelated to each other, they can be

[335] *H*, 43-44, no. 79.

associated to a certain extent with tragedies by Euripides: *Electra*, *Phoenician Women, Telephos* and *Iphigeneia in Aulis* or *Hecuba*.[336]

From left to right, the long side A shows ten figures arranged in three groups (Fig. 128-129). First, we see a man depicted in a frontal position wearing a *chiton* and mantle flanked by two winged figures. Next, in the centre of the composition, four figures are arranged around an altar: an old man in profile with a walking stick observes the nude female figure lying dead on the altar and a downhearted figure in a long dress sitting on the ground, in front of the altar. Next to them, a standing youth observes the scene from the distance. The final scene shows two male figures wearing *chiton* around the corpse of a male naked figure, who lies dead with his torso against the ground. If we invert the order and read the three scenes from right to left, we may interpret the figures as Orestes and Pylades standing near the corpse of Aegisthos; then, Clytemnestra lying dead on an altar followed by the episode in which Orestes flies alone from the Furies. These scenes, therefore, seem to be illustrating consecutive parts of one tragic story. Nevertheless, as Steuernagel correctly observes, the altar-scene has no visual parallel in ancient art.[337] The question emerges when trying to think of the kind of source (or sources) the sculptor or the patron may have used. In observing the depictions on this sarcophagus, it is possible to say that these seem to be related (directly or indirectly) with Euripides' *Electra*. For example, in the tragedy, Orestes kills Aegisthos during a sacrifice in the presence of Pylades.[338]

The central scene is a collection of events. Although at some point in the tragedy Orestes says that two dead bodies lay together on the ground, in the sarcophagus Clytemnestra is depicted on an altar, perhaps because she was

[336] Van der Meer 2004, 49.
[337] Steuernagel 1998, 50-52.
[338] Eur. *El*. 811-860.

sacrificed like an animal.[339] If this is correct, then the armed man to the right of the altar may be Orestes, while the woman sitting on the ground is Electra. The old bearded man leaning on a stick may be an old attendant who in various occasions affirms his loyalty to Clytemnestra over Agamemnon.[340] The grief of Electra after the murder of her mother Clytemnestra is in accordance with Euripides' tragedy.[341] The third scene seems to illustrate Orestes' escape from the Erinyes, represented by the two winged figures, a scene that also finds parallels on Apulian red-figure vases and on the long side B of **[Cat. 34]**.[342] Therefore, the three scenes depicted on the front of the Sarcophagus of the Poet, each with Orestes as main character, should be read from right to left (as the reading direction of Etruscan inscriptions), following the sequence of events in Euripides' tragedy. Although the first two scenes are of tragic nature, the flight of Orestes in the last scene entails a future happy ending when Apollo purifies him at Delphi. Apparently, the Etruscans were familiar with this ritual as shown on an engraved bronze mirror in Boston.[343]

The long side B shows five scenes apparently connected to Euripides' *Phoenician Women* (Fig. 130-131). The first scene shows a woman sitting on a rock; with her right hand she opens her mantle, while her left hand originally held a weapon, probably a dagger or sword. The second scene presents a winged female demon with torch turning against a naked young man who leads away to the left an old man with a naked torso. The third one shows a duel between two men, one of them is on his knees while the other strikes him with a sword. The next scene shows a naked young man, fleeing to the left while chased by a female demon with torches. The final scene shows a woman dressed in a *chiton* with two spears in her left hand

[339] Eur. *El*. 1179-1180. See Van der Meer 2004, 52.
[340] Eur. *IA*, 46-8; 153-4; 860; 867-71.
[341] Eur. *El*. 1183-1184.
[342] Ruvo, Museo Jatta 1494. Also the volute krater in Naples (MAN, 8227 (H 3249) by the Black Fury Painter (*ca*. 400 BC) from Ruvo; *RVAp* 7/13; *LIMC*, Orestes, no. 12.
[343] Van der Meer 1995, 80-82, fig. 31. The mirror shows the inscribed figures of Vanth (with a snake around her right arm), Apollo, Orestes and Metua.

standing in front of a man with a naked torso and sceptre. He brings his right arm to his forehead and seems to be sad.

As seen in other monuments, the central scene probably shows the duel between Eteocles and Polynices. The old man in the second scene to the left must be their father Oedipus who is led away from the duel. The woman sitting on the rock is most probably Jocasta, about to commit suicide, as described by Antigone in the play.[344] The opening of her mantle illustrates the description given in the tragedy, where she is said to have exposed her breasts at the sight of her sons while dying.[345] A previous interpretation sees the final scene as Polynices arguing with the sitting king Eteocles while the man in the scene to the left would also be Polynices.[346]

Van der Meer does not agree with this interpretation of the scenes; he thinks that the man depicted in the fourth scene is Menoeceus, the son of Creon who had to be sacrificed to prevent the war.[347] Creon instructs his son to flee to the oracle at Dodona, but later Menoeceus secretly goes to the serpent's lair to sacrifice himself and appease Ares so that his country may be saved.[348] The presence of the female demon in the scene may represent his soon-approaching death as on other sarcophagi. Furthermore, the final scene shows a woman and not a man, indicated by her triangular earring.[349] She is most probably Antigone who, facing Creon, swears on her sword that she will bury her brother Polynices.[350]

Finally, the long side A of **[Cat. 40]** shows also a scene presumably inspired in the *Iliad*, the last Tarquinian sarcophagus I discuss in this section. Although this sarcophagus is damaged, three battle scenes are still visible (Fig. 134). From left to right we observe a retreating warrior attacking a man who has fallen down and is

[344] Eur. *Phoen*. 1455-1459.
[345] Eur. *Phoen*. 1566-1578.
[346] Interpretation by G. Körte (quoted in Van der Meer 2004, 50).
[347] Eur. *Phoen*. 1014. See Van der Meer 2004, 51.
[348] Eur. *Phoen*. 1014; 1090-92; 1302.
[349] Though not quite evident, I was able to see the triangular earring suggested by Van der Meer (2004, 51) on this sarcophagus in the Vatican Museum.
[350] Eur. *Phoen*. 1672.

protecting himself with a raised shield; behind him is a naked, dead man lying flat on the ground. Next, two warriors raise high above a shield a naked, dead man, while two or three warriors are attacking them from the right; the dead man's right arm hangs down. Then, a naked man is trying to lift up a naked, dead man on his shield. In the right corner stands a man who is stretching his right arm towards the centre.

In his catalogue, Herbig does not provide an interpretation of the scenes. He only states that the impressive composition of the frieze was inspired by a Greek model, and that it was, perhaps, even carved by a Greek sculptor.[351] He finds a parallel between the 'helper group' in the last scene and the so-called Pasquino group, a comparison also accepted by Massa-Pairault but rejected by Van der Meer.[352] However, Massa-Pairault was the first to suggest a Trojan battle scene for the front of this sarcophagus. Later, Van der Meer explored the possibility that successive moments from Book 17 have been represented, namely the lifting up of Patroclus' body.[353] The order of his reading is not linear, but from left to right and centre, which makes it problematic. Similar non-linear readings are proposed for other sarcophagi (for example, **[Cat. 38]** and **[Cat. 39]**), as we shall see.

The short sides of **[Cat. 40]** depict two tragic scenes: short side C, badly damaged, shows the duel between Eteocles and Polynices popular during this period as is shown by a painting in the François Tomb and in two Tarquinian sarcophagi (Fig. 135, right).[354] The scene on the sort side D is composed of two figures: the figure on the left is a bearded man dressed in a short dress and *pilos* hat. He is moving towards the left, his arms are missing (Fig. 135, left). The female figure to the right wears a long, free dress that shows her legs in profile and a mantle; her head seems to be turned backwards recalling the Maenad by Scopas. It has been

[351] *H*, 61, no. 118.
[352] Massa-Pairault 1985, 73-74. The Roman copy of the original group from Pergamon (mid-third century BC) was probably made in the first century AD. See Van der Meer 2005, 653.
[353] The label of this sarcophagus in the museum reads: '*guerrieri in lotta in torno al cadaver di un heroe nudo*'.
[354] Cristofani 1987; Van der Meer 2004, 41; Maggiani 2005, 599-607.

interpreted as the Thracian king Lycurgus threatening one of his daughters, perhaps the nymph Ambrosia.[355] Another interpretation, however, suggests Cassandra's madness.[356] In this way, the short sides form a pair that depicts the fratricide and infanticide; two themes derived from Greek myth that together tell us something about the Etruscan way of thinking.

3.1.3. Tuscania

Tuscania is today a small city not far from Tarquinia (about 26 km). The legend says it was founded by Ascanius or Tusco, Aeneas's and Heracles' son respectively. In spite of not knowing the Etruscan name for this city, archaeological finds after the earthquake in 1971 revealed that Tuscania was inhabited since the Villanovan period. The numerous sarcophagi found in its necropoleis, six of them with reliefs showing myths, attest to the importance of this Etruscan centre in the fourth century BC, when it is presumed that some members of the Tarquinian aristocracy moved to this area (Fig. 136). Myths on sarcophagi from Tuscania can be summarized as follows **(Table 6)**:

Cat. no	Date (BC)	Technique	Myths		
			Trojan	Theban	Other
41	310-300	Reliefs	√		
42	310-300	Reliefs	√	√	√
43	310-300	Reliefs	√	√ (?)	√*
44	330-320	Reliefs	√		
45	310-300	Reliefs	√		√
46	320-300	Reliefs	√		

*Perhaps alien to Greek myth.

Table 6. Tuscania. Funerary monuments with depictions of Greek myth.

The exact provenience of **[Cat. 41]** is uncertain. It was found by Ferreguti in the 'Parque de Monserratte' while visiting Lisbon in 1930 and published a few years later by Ducati with a photograph of the sarcophagus in the open air (Fig. 137).

[355] Herbig 1952, 61, no. 118; Cataldi 2001, 21.
[356] Van der Meer 2004, 44.

Although it was originally thought to be from Tarquinia, it is today agreed that the sarcophagus came from the Tomb of the Vipinana in Tuscania excavated in 1839.[357] This sarcophagus together with other two sarcophagi stayed in the park until very recently, suffering considerable damage from the weather. They are now in the Ordinhas Museum in Sintra (Fig. 138).[358]

The scene is framed by columns with volutes in the capitals, thus belonging to the hall type. The lid is flat with a reclining figure. There is no inscription and decoration only occurs on the front in which seven figures are depicted. The figure in the middle holds a spear in his right hand with which he is about to decapitate his victim whom he grabs by the hair (Fig. 139). The victim is seated on the ground while he holds his shield with his left hand. The central scene is followed by a standing male bearded figure wearing a long dress. He seems to hold something in his right hand, though it is unclear what it is. He does not look at the sacrifice, but to the naked youth next to him who wears a mantle. The last figure is inferred by a leg, probably another naked youth, but the upper part is lost.

Comparison with other monuments suggests that the front of this sarcophagus shows Achilles' sacrificing the Trojans. As we have seen, this theme also appears in the sarcophagus from Torre San Severo in Orvieto, the Sarcophagus of the Priest from Tarquinia, and in the François Tomb discussed below. This is the only example from Tuscania and it seems to show an abbreviated version of the story, with fewer figures. However, there are some elements that make this interpretation less convincing, as we shall see.

Another sarcophagus from the Tomb of the Vipinana, **[Cat. 42]**, represents two themes linked to the destruction of Thebes and Troy: the Slaughter of the Niobids on the long side A and Achilles dragging Hektor's corpse on the short side D

[357] Colonna and Colonna 1978, 107.
[358] All previous studies indicate that these sarcophagi are in Lisbon, when in fact they were transferred to Sintra a few years ago.

respectively. The Niobid scene, composed of nine figures organized in four groups, is framed by Artemis and Apollo, both winged; they are seated on a folding chair at each of the extremes of the scene (Figs. 140-141). Artemis may display the features of Vanth, the Etruscan female demon of death as seen in other sarcophagi. It is likely that a winged Apollo was required for the sake of symmetry.[359] In the centre of the scene, there is a frontally rendered Niobe, in the act of gathering up her mantle and a *paidagogos* with a hunting stick. They move away in opposite directions in a V-shaped, symmetrical composition. The standing figures have one arm lifted as if trying to protect themselves from the arrows. The final group is composed by a naked youth moving away from Apollo.

Two other mythical scenes are depicted on the short sides of this sarcophagus. Side C, set in a rocky ground, shows a Centaur holding a stone up above his head and moving violently towards the left between two attacking Lapiths wearing short dresses and Etruscan style hunting boots (Fig. 144). On the short side D Achilles is depicted on a quadriga moving towards the right (Fig. 143). He carries Hektor's *spolia* while dragging his corpse tied to the chariot, the only example of this subject in Etruria.[360] The three themes rendered in **[Cat. 42]** seem to depict the fatal consequences of *hybris* and the idea of victory over an enemy or a wild creature (such as the Centaur on the left short side).

[Cat. 43] is a problematic example within its category. It seems to have been found without a lid in the centre of the Tomb of the Vipinana in Tuscania, as can be seen from a drawing by Samuel Ainsly made in July 1842. The coffin, dated around 300 BC, belonged to a woman named *Thanchvil* as recorded by the damaged inscription above the left short side (and not in the front as usual). This suggests that

[359] Van der Meer 1985; *Id*. 2004, 53.

[360] See *LIMC* I, Achle, no. 119 with Camporeale's discussion on section F: 'L'uccisione di Hektor'. A similar scheme with Achilles on a quadriga (although with no *spolia*) can be seen in the Apulian red-figure volute krater by the Darius Painter depicting Achilles sacrificing the Trojans in front of Patroclus' tomb.

the coffin stood originally with this side towards the entrance, or the woman wished to identify herself with the female figure in the scene depicted on this side (Iphigenia).

The composition on the long side A is arranged around an altar scene (Fig. 145). In the centre of the scene, there is an altar flanked by a man grabbing a kneeling woman by the hair and another man stabbing (?) another kneeling woman in her forehead, while both victims attempt to push their aggressors away. Behind the altar there is a winged demon with the head turned to the right and open arms, similar to the female demon on the left of the scene; this one nonetheless has a naked torso. To the right of this scene, by contrast, a bearded man seems to gently grab the hair of a woman seated on a rectangular block. He comes close to her head, as if whispering something in her ear. On the far right, a woman (?) in a long dress with sleeves makes a supplicant gesture towards the pair of figures. According to the reconstructed plot of Aeschylus' tetralogy,[361] Herbig interpreted the scene as the Danaids' failed attempt to seek refuge at an altar in Argos.

The long side B of **[Cat. 43]** shows eight figures: from left to right there is a frontally rendered naked man; he moves to the right and carries in his hand three slats while looking back (Fig. 146). Next, another naked male figure wearing a *chlamys* grasps with both hands the hair of a nude female figure sitting on a rock and pointing with her left index finger in the direction of the central scene. Here, there is an altar above which are visible the upper parts of two naked figures, a woman and a helmeted man, similar to the depiction of the half-figure on one of the long sides of **[Cat. 38]** and on an Etruscan engraved bronze mirror from Perugia.[362] The woman folds her hands while the man places a hand on her back or shoulder. To the right of the altar a naked, bearded man sits on the ground extending his right hand toward the couple. Next is a man in a short dress holding in his hand an undefined object; he moves to the left looking back toward a cuirassed man standing on the far right, also

[361] Garvie 1969.
[362] *ES* 170. See Van der Meer 1995, fig. 83.

holding another unclear object. Given that the scene suggests a rite of passage or sacrifice, Simon has interpreted the scene as a Theban myth, the Epigonoi. Her interpretation, nevertheless, presents some problems as we shall see.[363]

The short side D of **[Cat. 43]** shows three figures: in the middle of the composition there is a frontally rendered bearded man with naked torso and with his right hand raised. His left hand rests on the right shoulder of a woman sitting on an altar (Fig. 147, right). She is partially dressed and looks downhearted, as indicated by her right hand placed under the chin. On the left and in the same way as the female figure there is a dejected bearded man sitting on the ground while he holds the weight of his head with his left hand. The scene has been identified as the sacrifice of Iphigenia. However, the scene on the short side C looks very generic and cannot be interpreted accurately as it shows two male figures engaged in confrontation (Fig. 147, left).

The scenes on the long sides and on one of the short sides of **[Cat. 43]** have in common the depiction of an altar. Only the rear side presents a clear supplicant (*hikesia*) scene. The long side A, with the two victims on each side of the altar does not show any demon of death (in clear contrast with the opposite long side), which suggests that a kind of rite is depicted, rather than a human sacrifice.

Another Trojan myth appears on sarcophagus **[Cat. 44]**, which was found without lid in the Tomb of the Amazons, composed of two chambers. This sarcophagus was found in the first chamber against the right wall, together with a couple of bronze appliqués decorated with sea horses and a coin of local manufacture dated 300-280 BC that were found under the sarcophagus. Stylistic features, however, point towards an earlier date between 330-320 BC. The coffin has tiny columns on three corners and seems to be an antecedent of the hall

[363] For a survey of previous interpretations, see Van der Meer 1993.

sarcophagus type, which emerged around 300 BC.[364] Amazonomachies occur on the front (A) and on the short sides; while a scene of animal fight takes place on the rear (Fig. 149). Amazons wear a belted chiton with a cross belt over their bare torso and some wear a Phrygian cap (Fig. 148). They are armed with spears, swords, bows, and round shields. Their male opponents fight nude, sometimes wearing a mantle, but two of them wear a skirt, while another warrior wears a similar Phrygian cap. The male warriors are armed with spears, swords and shields. One of the short sides shows an Amazon falling down while a male warrior stabs her back with a spear (Fig. 150, right). The outcome is unclear on the other short side, where an Amazon armed with a bow confronts a male warrior who is about to remove his sword in preparation to fight back (Fig. 150, left).

Two sarcophagi belonging to the *gens* Curunas were found in the Madonna dell'Olivo necropolis where two family tombs used by various generations were found (Fig. 151). Among the sarcophagi found in the Tomb of the Curunas I, only one bears depictions of myths **[Cat. 45]**. Likewise, another sarcophagus showing Amazons fighting male opponents was found in the Tomb of the Curunas II **[Cat. 46]**.

A total of eight sarcophagi were found in the Tomb of the Corunas I. Among them, **[Cat. 45]** belongs to the sarcophagi of the second generation (310-300 BC) and it was placed against the right wall towards the tomb's rear wall (Fig. 152).[365] This explains why only its long side A and short side D have reliefs, leaving the other sides undecorated. The long side shows six figures grouped in three duels, while a seventh figure on the ground (undressed), is about to being mortally wounded (Fig. 153). This battle scene is probably an Amazonomachy, as the female (?) figures wear a belted chiton and the male figures fight with naked torsos. The two-headed male

[364] Van der Meer 2004, 37.
[365] Among the four generations buried in this tomb, only the first generation (340-310 BC) was not buried in sarcophagi.

figure (second from the left) is maybe and Etruscan divinity whose presence provides an Etruscan variation of the otherwise Greek model (Fig. 154). Nevertheless, the first duel could be also Hermes facing the giant of Argos.[366] The short side D shows Bellerophon on his horse fighting the Chimaera (Fig. 155). It is worth mentioning that Greek myths were not exclusive to sarcophagi in this tomb, as a cista from Praeneste dated to 340-330 BC and belonging to the earliest depositions features engravings inspired in episodes of Achilles's life mingled with Etruscan winged demons of death, which points to a special commission.[367]

The Tomb of the Curunas II, where **[Cat. 46]** was found, contained more than 470 items, including sarcophagi, bronzes and different types of ceramics. At the time of discovery, the tomb contained twenty-seven depositions between sarcophagi (22), *loculi* (3), *nicchio* (1) and at least one cremation (Figs. 156-157). The tomb was in use between the last decades of the fourth century and the end of the second century BC, a span of some seven generations. This implies that, as in the case of **[Cat. 45]**, **[Cat. 46]** was also a sarcophagus seen in various occasions. Among the three sarcophagi belonging to the first generation (320-300 BC) only **[Cat. 46]** features depictions of myth. In the same way as the sarcophagus from Tomb of the Curunas I previously discussed, the coffin of **[Cat. 46]** has reliefs only on the front (A) and on the right short side (D). The depictions on these sides are thematically related showing combat scenes inspired in the Amazonomachy (Fig. 158-159). A contemporary engraved mirror found in the tomb shows and assembly of gods, with Apollo, Heracles, Athena and perhaps Turan, while two mirrors of later date show the Dioscuri.[368]

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[366] Maggiani 1982, 3. An iconographic parallel for a two-headed Argos appears on a red-figure lekythos by the Pan Painter (470-460 BC), found in ancient Aphytis (Chalcidice), today in the Museum of the Roman Forum, Thessaloniki.

[367] Tuscania, MAN. The cista is very fragmented but the lid clearly shows the transport of Achilles's weapons. The remains of the box, however, show only the upper part of Etruscan demons alongside other heroic figures. See Sgubini Moretti 1991, 41-42, fig. 47.

[368] Tuscania MAN, Tomb of the Curunas II. See Sgubini Moretti 1991, 58.

3.1.4. Vulci

Contemporary to the funerary monuments from Tarquinia and Tuscania are paintings in one tomb and the reliefs on two sarcophagi from Vulci. They all feature subjects inspired in Greek myth, mostly derived from the Trojan cycle; yet the paintings in the François Tomb juxtapose some Trojan episodes with Theban ones along with other heroic figures **(Table 7)**.

Cat. no	Date (BC)	Technique	Myths		
			Trojan	Theban	Other
47	*ca*. 350	Frescoes	√	√	√
48	325-300	Reliefs	√		
49	330-300	Reliefs	√		

Table 7. Vulci. Funerary monuments with depictions of Greek myth.

The François Tomb **[Cat. 47]**, dedicated to the family of Vel Saties (inscription), was discovered by Alessandro François in 1857 in the Ponte Rotto necropolis at Vulci (Fig. 160). It was composed of a long *dromos* (27 m), *atrium*, *tablinum*, and seven other tomb chambers (Fig. 161). The walls of both the atrium and the *tablinum* were decorated with paintings that have been dated to the middle of the fourth century BC; yet the earliest finds suggest that the tomb was in use since the middle of the fifth century BC.[369] The tomb's frescoes were removed short after their discovery and have been stored in the Villa Albani since 1946. Nonetheless, there is no certainty today about their current location (Figs. 171-172).[370]

Assuming that in the occasion of a funeral the tomb was lighted with torches, a visitor would immediately note the figure of the tomb's funder on the right wall of

[369] The finds in the tomb range in date from the middle of the fifth to the early second century BC, thus suggesting that the tomb was in use for about 250 years. See *EP*, 403 (no. 178).

[370] The tomb's frescoes were restored by a German foundation and then exhibited in Hamburg and Vulci in 2007; thereafter they were protected with translucent paper. Nonetheless, after the refusal of the Torlonia family to sell the paintings to the Italian government, the frescoes "disappeared" again in some room of the Villa Albani. (I thank Prof. Steingräber for this information given to me via email on 09/02/2015).

the atrium, Vel Saties, wearing a wreath and a richly decorated red toga with dancing figures. He is looking at the bird in the servant's hand (*Arnza*) to the right, while probably performing an act of auspicium.[371] His portrait, so to speak, appears alongside other mythical figures depicted on this sector of the tomb. For example, opposite to him, on the left side of the atrium's left wall there is a depiction of Phoenix (inscription) facing right nearby a palm tree which is mirrored by the figure of Nestor (inscription) also beside a palm tree on the right side (Figs. 162-163).

Most complex scenes, however, were to be seen in the *tablinum*. On the left and left rear walls appears the scene of Achilles' immolation of the Trojan prisoners as indicated by inscriptions (Fig. 164). From left to right, we read: Agamemmnon (*Axmenrum*), the shade of Patroclus (*hinthial Patrucles*), Vanth (*Vanth*), Achilleus (*Axle*), a Trojan (*Truials*), Telemonian Ajax (*Ainas Tlamunus*), another Trojan (*Truials*), Oilean Ajax (*Ainas Vilatas*) and another Trojan (*Truials*). In the middle of the scene, Achilles is cutting the throat of a Trojan prisoner, who sits on the ground. The scene is observed by Agamemnon at the far left, nobly dressed, and by the shade of Patroclus who wears a blue robe and a white bandage across his chest marking his fatal wounds. Between Patroclus and Achilles stands Vanth, the Etruscan female deity of death, with her wings symbolically embracing both men, for she shall also take Achilles.[372] At their right, the Etruscan demon Charun stands with his usual tool, a hammer. Next, there is Telamonian Ajax holding a Trojan prisoner with his arm extended. The scene continues through the left rear wall, besides a chamber's entrance, with Oilean Ajax holding a third Trojan with a rope. The three

[371] The interpretation of this scene is complex. Weber-Lehmann and Andreae have argued that it is not a scene of augury, but one of daily life comparable to fourth-century BC Attic reliefs where birds appear as pets. The identification of the bird as a swallow supports this idea, as this bird was not used for aupices. Furthermore, Weber-Lehmann's suggests that the bird is not real, but a wooden toy of Arnza. See articles by Weber- Lehmann and Andreae in Sgubini Moretti 2004. See also Rathje 2014, 55-65, esp. 62.

[372] Pallottino 1952, 118; Massa-Pairault 1992, 118. The wings of Vanth are more clearly seen in the copy by Carlo Ruspi in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco than in the extant painting.

Trojans in the depiction are nude, and the two standing youths have their hands bound behind their backs as recounted in the *Iliad*.[373]

The scene with Oilean Ajax holding a nude Trojan prisoner is somehow echoed on the right rear wall, this is, to the right of the chamber's entrance where a figure named *Macstrna* is seen setting *Caile Vipanas* free by untying his hands. To their right are three duels. From left to right *Aule Vipanas* slays *Venthical […]plsachs, Rasce* murders *Pesna Arcmsnas Sveamch* and *Larth Ulthes* kills *Laris Papathnas Velznach.* The scene continues on the right rear wall of the atrium with a picture of *Marce Camitlnas* about to kill *Cneve Tarchinies Rumach*, a scene that is balanced on the left rear wall of the atrium (next to the Trojan scene) by a painting of Eteocles and Polynices killing each other (Fig. 165).

On their way out, visitors would have noted that other mythical figures were depicted on the entrance wall: on the left side, Sisyphos, bearded and naked, is lifting a large rock (note the female winged figure above him) while Amphiaraos, bearded and dressed in a dark cloak, is watching him. On the right side a bearded Ajax threatens a naked Cassandra, who seeks refuge at an altar where stands the statue of a goddess (Fig. 163). Interestingly, it is a statue of Turan/Aphrodite rather than of Athena, as in Greek art.

A last point needs to be mentioned here concerning the depiction of myth in the tomb's grave goods. If the Attic red-figure pointed amphora (*ca*. 475 BC) said to be found in the François Tomb actually belongs, we can say that mythical battles such as the Gigantomachy, the Centauromachy and the confrontation between Theseus and the bull depicted on this vessel were already part of the repertoire of heroic battles in this tomb for over a century before the frescoes were executed.[374]

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[373] Hom. *Il*. 23.30.

[374] Brussels, Museé du Cinquantenaire R 303 ; Attic red-figure pointed amphora (*ca*. 475 BC); *ARV*^{2} 165.5; *CVA* Brussels pls. 35-36.

Turning to sarcophagi from Vulci, sarcophagus **[Cat. 48]** was found together with two Faliscan red-figure vases in Chamber II in the Tomb of the Inscriptions (325-300 BC). It is now in one of the court yards of the Villa Giulia Museum in Rome, thus making it vulnerable to the weather conditions.[375] This sarcophagus is not inscribed but Nielsen beliefs it probably belonged to a woman, *Ramtha Ceisatrui*, the wife of *Vel Pruslnas*.[376] The coffin shows carved reliefs on all four sides and, as in other contemporary Etruscan sarcophagi, the subject-matter is the Amazonomachy (Figs. 173-175). Amazons, however, have short hair and both parties fight wearing only mantles. Amazons fight on foot, though one fights on horseback.[377] They are armed with swords, spears and shields. This time a feature identified as clouds, not trees (as in **[Cat. 34]**), indicates that the scenes take place in open air.

A winged demon of death appears on each end of the long sides (panel type), thus framing the battles, while another winged demon observes the battle below him from behind the clouds in the middle of the long side B. The battle on the long side A is composed of seven figures grouped in three duels (Fig. 173). The interpretation of the long side B, however, is problematic as some of the figures are missing (Fig. 174). From left to right we observe a male warrior pulling a mounted Amazon off her horse by grabbing her by the hair, a motif that also appears in the Heroön at Trysa. Further along to the right is a group of three figures (the others are missing) with a male warrior about to strike a falling Amazon with his spear, while he holds her by the hair with his left hand. Beyond the missing part, it is not possible to read what remains of the last figure in the scene.

[375] In a recent visit to the Museum, the sarcophagus contained rain water inside (about 15 cm deep), while the reliefs on the outside were almost completely wet. Apparently, the lack of space in the 'Vulci Room' forced this sarcophagus and other funerary urns to be moved outside the main building.

[376] Chamber II contained the sepulchres of Ramtha and her son, Larth. Nielsen beliefs the sarcophagus belonged to the woman. See Nielsen 1990, 46.

[377] It is unknown whether another mounted Amazon was depicted, since the right side of one of the long sides is missing.

The short sides of **[Cat. 48]** are decorated with duels. On one of them, a male warrior attacks a fallen Amazon with his spear while repeating the same gesture of the mounted Amazon on the long side B; the male figure, with extended left arm, holds her by the hair while she attempts to free herself by raising her right arm (Fig. 175, left). The other short side emulates the first duel on the long side A (Fig. 175, right). Here, by contrast, the male warrior has not fully fallen to the ground. The Amazon covers him with her shield, while she is ready to remove her spear. It has been suggested that Pentheseleia appears on the long side A of this sarcophagus in three consecutive scenes. However, the three women have different hairstyles, which make this interpretation questionable.[378]

Finally, another sarcophagus from Vulci, now in Boston is **[Cat. 49]**. Different from all the others, this one belonged to a married couple *Thanchvil Tarnai* and *Larth Tetnie*s (Fig. 176-178). Battles appear on the two long sides, while animal fighting scenes are depicted on the short ones (Fig. 178). This sarcophagus belongs to the architectonic type and it has been dated to 330-300 BC.[379] The long side A shows the Amazonomachy composed of four duels (Fig. 177). Amazons wear a belted chiton and only one of them carries a pelta. Other weapons, however, are not visible. The male opponents fight nude and are armed with shields; one also wields a sword. While one Amazon and one male warrior die two other duels are uncertain.

The long side B shows a battle scene between warriors on foot and on horseback (Fig. 176). Herbig suggests that this side was devoted to the male, while the Amazonomachy on the other side to the female buried in the sarcophagus.[380] However, the depictions do not coincide with the position of the figures on the lid. In the following section, I take a cautious approach when interpreting the uses of

[378] Bartoccini 1961, 79-97. Van der Meer 2004, 37 disagrees with this identification.
[379] Brendel 1978, 382 dated this sarcophagus 350 BC, while Cristofani 1989, 607, n. 38 and Gentili 1997 between 350-325 BC.
[380] *H* no. 6.

mythological images in the selected monuments, trying not to extract more information than the evidence permits.

4. Discussion

During the fourth century BC the use of Greek mythology in the funerary monuments from southern Etruria reached its highest point. Goods exchanged with the Apulians, the Greek colonies in the South of Italy and Praeneste testify not only to the frequent communication between different regions, but also to the circulation of models that shared a similar artistic language.[381] In other words, an artistic *koiné* is observed in the composition and subject-matter of many art works during this time. In this context, Etruscan monuments are not an isolated phenomenon, but should be understood within a wider Mediterranean perspective.[382] However, this was also a time when several confrontations with the Romans took place. In this period, some myths, such as the episode of Achilles sacrificing the Trojans seem to have enjoyed certain popularity among the Etruscans and other peoples in Italy; while other myths almost exclusively appear in Etruscan monuments. Further, some episodes depicted on sarcophagi seem to have been inspired by tragedy; however, in contrast to Apulian vases, this feature has been only rarely touched upon in Etruscan funerary monuments. Colonna has presented evidence of actual theatrical structures near Arezzo and Cerveteri, including imitations of theatrical space in necropoleis at Tarquinia and Vulci which are to a certain degree related to the tombs.[383] If these structrures were in fact used for some kind of theatrical performances (*ludi scaenici*), competitions or other rites is difficult to say. But some episodes represented on hall

[381] For Etruscan goods such as bronzes, jewellery, bucchero and black-figured vases found in Apulian sites, see De Juliis 2001b, 260-267.
[382] On a Mediterranean *koiné* in the fourth century BC, see Steingräber 2008, 277-278.
[383] At Tarquinia the Luzi Tumulus has a stepped *dromos*, while a stepped antechamber is part of the Cuccumela Tomb at Vulci. See Colonna 1993a, 321-347, esp. 323-330, figs. 2-3, pls. 1-2.

sarcophagi strongly suggest the possibility that tragedy was performed in Etruria and probably translated in Etruscan.[384] The fact that male figures on the lids of two of these types of sarcophagi may be wearing cothornoi and the presence of comic and tragic terracotta masks in tombs during this period further support this idea.[385] This makes us wonder why violent and tragic scenes were often chosen for explicit visualisation. Van der Meer suggests that the idea underlying most of hese scenes is fate as dictaminated by Apollo or predicted by an oracle; as it is the case in many Trojan and Theban myths.[386]

Some subjects on Etruscan sarcophagi appear in tomb painting as well, as in the case of Achilles' sacrifice of the Trojans and of the duel between Eteocles and Polynices. On the other hand, the Amazonomachy, a popular theme on Etruscan sarcophagi, has no parallels in the extant tomb paintings; whereas underworld scenes populated with Greek gods and heroes as seen in some tomb paintings, have no parallels in sarcophagi.[387] This suggests that the use of Greek heroic stories as it appears in these particular funerary monuments was not the same, even when similar subjects are depicted in both media. In the François Tomb and probably on one sarcophagus from the Tomb of the Vipinana we observe the contraposision of myth and local history; as observed on the name-vase by the Darius Painter.

In this section, the discussion will follow a different path from the previous chapter. This is because the appropriation of myth by the Etruscan elites is a phenomenon well indicated in the archaeological record (for example, Attic vases and mirrors), as well as in Etruscan inscriptions. The latter type shows that the names of Greek gods and heroes were incorporated into the Etruscan language.

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[384] Van der Meer 1993, 379-391, esp. 380-382.

[385] *Ibid*. 390. There is no direct evidence that *kothornoi* were a feature of stage costume in the theatre of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides. In art representations, however, they do signify and actor or a theatrical scene. See Walton 2010, 33.

[386] *Ibid*. 381.

[387] The travel to the underworld, sometimes accompanied by Charun or processions in which gates or rocks mark the transition from this world to the other are a common subject in relief sarcophagi from 300 BC onwards.

Furthermore, the display of mythical episodes in pedimental sculpture indicates that wider groups of the Etruscan society were exposed to visual representations of myth. Therefore, this section will discuss aspects of composition and juxtaposition to other myths on a given monument, as well as Etruscan variations which are unique to this region. I will conclude with a discussion of the possible meaning of the myths according to their funerary use.

4.1. Heroising the *gens:* myths for the grave

4.1.1. Trojan myths

(a) Achilles' slaying of the Trojans and other sacrifices. This scene is the subject of **[Cat. 31]**, **[Cat. 33]** and **[Cat. 47]**, while it is perhaps depicted on **[Cat. 38]** and **[Cat. 41]**. In Book 23 of the *Iliad* the episode is described along these lines:

> And twelve valiant sons of the great-souled Trojans slew he with the bronze—and grim was the work he purposed in his heart and thereto he set the iron might of fire, to range at large.[388]

Most scholars agree with the interpretation that the sacrifice scenes of the Trojan prisoners, which were illustrated by Etruscan artists in the second half of the fourth century BC, conveyed anti-Roman allusions which motivated the appearance of the subject.[389] In fact, some of them have seen a propagandistic element in these paintings and reliefs, where the Romans are associated with the Trojan heroes, and the Etruscans with the Greeks.[390] However, we must be cautious. We do not have Etruscan texts to demonstrate these ideological arguments; all we have are theories based on the archaeological evidence. In fact, as far as it is known, sacrifice scenes

[388] Hom. *Il*. 23.175-76.
[389] Coarelli 1985 and particularly Massa-Pairault 1992, 118-125.
[390] For 'anti-Roman' propaganda, *EP* no. 178 and no. 69; Van der Meer 2004, 29-32, figs. 7-10; Minder 2008, 77-99. This is valid, of course, as long as we assume the public display of sarcophagi during the funeral ceremony. Nevertheless, after the conclusive Roman conquest of Etruria during the early decades of the third century BC, non-mythological themes predominate in sarcophagi. See van der Meer 2004, 6.

such as this one were not depicted in public buildings during our period of study –a more suitable place to propagate such a message. The iconographic variations of the scene on Etruscan funerary monuments suggest that there was no original model that each artist copied, as we can observe in the following table **(Table 8)**.

Cat. no	Fig. 1	Fig. 2	Fig. 3	Fig. 4	Fig. 5	Fig. 6	Fig. 7	Fig. 8	Fig. 9	Fig. 10	Fig. 11	Fig. 12
32	Pers.	Hades	**A**	Pat.	T	T. Aj.	T	O. Aj.	T			
34	Ch.	G	T	Pat.	**A**	T	V	T. Aj.	T	O. Aj.	T	G
40	Male fig.	Ajax? Men. ?	Cass.? Hel.?	**A?**	T?	V						
42	G?	Priest?	**A?**	T?	Ag.?	T?	G					
48	Ag.	Pat.	V	**A**	T	Ch	T. Aj.	T	O. Aj.	T		

Table 8. Composition of Achilles' sacrifice of the Trojans in Etruscan funerary monuments (A indicates the position of Achilles in each scene).[391]

At least ten examples of Achilles sacrificing the Trojan prisoners made in the fourth century BC have come to us in different media and from diverse Italian regions.[392] Among them we can count seven Etruscan examples (2 vases, 4 sarcophagi and 1 tomb painting), plus two or three engraved bronze *cistae* from Praeneste and one vase from Apulia (Canosa). They all share similar iconography, whilst sometimes presenting variations in the depictions of the subject (Figs. 167-170).[393] This number, however, does not necessarily suggest that the Etruscans introduced the motif to the other regions. In fact, the motif could also have been taken from some lost Greek or Italiote original. Furthermore, as the dating of these objects is sometimes misleading it is difficult to determine which originated first. For example, the only Apulian version of the subject by the Darius Painter has been

[391] Abbreviations: A = Achilles; Ag. = Agamemnon; Cass. = Cassandra; Ch. = Charun; G = Greek; Hel. = Helena; Men. = Menelaos; O. Aj. = Oilean Ajax; Pat. = Patroclus; Pers. = Persephone; T. Aj. = Telamonian Ajax; T= Trojan; V = Vanth.

[392] 3 painted ceramics: red-figure stamnos from Savona (*EVP* 88, pl. 20), red-figure calix-krater by the Turmuca Painter from Vulci (*EVP* 136, pl.31), Apulian red-figure volute krater by the Darius Painter from Canosa (*RVAp* II 495, no. 18/30); 2 engraved cistae from Praeneste (Paris, Louvre 1663; London, BM 638). On the subject, see Maggiani 1985.

[393] For illustrations of the subject, see Maggiani 1985, 208-210; *LIMC*, Achle, nos. 85-95.

dated 340-330 BC.[394] An engraved bronze *cista* in London, known as the *cista* Révil, has been dated from 360 to 300 BC, while a date *ca*. 350 BC has been proposed for the paintings on the Sarcophagus of the Priest **[Cat. 33]**, the reliefs on the Sarcophagus from Torre San Severo **[Cat. 31]**, and for the frescoes in the François Tomb **[Cat. 47]**.[395]

In contrast to the Apulian version depicted by the Darius Painter – in which Patroclus is only indirectly referred to by the inscription on his grave (*Patroklou taphos*) – the artists of these three Etruscan funerary monuments have depicted Patroclus' shade wearing bandages, thus reminding us of his mortal wounds.[396] Following the pattern that appears in the François Tomb **[Cat. 47]** and on the Sarcophagus of the Priest **[Cat. 33]**, **[Cat. 31]** shows Achilles, with left foot extended, holding his victim by the hair with his left hand while killing him with the right. This time, however, the hero has almost amputated the head of his victim as his sword has already reached the back of the Trojan's neck. In the three monuments, Achilles has short hair, as described by Homer.[397] This is an important feature considering that in Greek art, depictions of the hero usually show him with long hair. A bronze statuette from Spina shows the hero in the act of cutting his long hair with a long knife.[398] From this, we can infer that for the Etruscans, Achilles' grief and funerary duties in honour of Patroclus – as seen in his performance of the sacrifice and his short hair – were an important aspect to be highlighted, specifically when considering that these types of depictions were created with a funerary purpose in mind. This is further emphasised by the addition of Etruscan winged demons of death to the scene, such as Charun and Vanth; while on the sarcophagus from Torre San Severo

[394] Naples, MAN, 3254; *RVAp* II 495, no. 18/30.
[395] London 638 (1884.6-14.35); *LIMC,* Achle, no. 90. In *EP* 378, Steingräber proposes the present accepted opinion that the paintings in the François Tomb must have been created before the Romans gained hegemony in Vulci in 280 BC.
[396] Further comments on this scene depicted on the Apulian volute-krater by the Darius Painter, see Pouzadoux 2008a; *Ead*. 2008b and 2013, 115-129.
[397] *Hom. Il*. 23.150-151.
[398] Ferrara, MA, 2307 (400-350 BC); *LIMC*, Achle, no. 95.

[Cat. 31], the masters of the underworld, Hades and Persephone, are present during the sacrifice.

Nonetheless, it is problematic to claim that the same episode (or part of it) is depicted on **[Cat. 38]** and **[Cat. 41]**. Although closer in composition to the traditional scheme, the latter presents some problems of interpretation. For example, if the sacrificed victim is supposed to be a Trojan prisoner, then why is he still carrying his shield? Additionally there is not a clear difference between the Greeks and the Trojans as both parties are naked. In fact, the first figure to the left is not standing but moving to the right with his sword ready to fight. In considering these variations, it is more likely that the scene represents another heroic episode, perhaps Neoptolemos killing Polites as Blanck has suggested.[399] On the other hand, an abbreviation of the scene appears on **[Cat. 38]** if, in fact, a quote of the episode was intended. It presents a bearded figure (a Greek?) carrying a bound prisoner (a Trojan?) to the same altar where Cassandra (or Helen) seeks for refuge. Given that the female figure is undressed and that the figure behind the altar seems to be waiting for the victim, the scene probably illustrates Polyxena's sacrifice, as a similar combination occurs on **[Cat. 31]**.

Equally important is the juxtaposition of the sacrifice of the Trojans with other myths in the funerary monuments under discussion. This is not exclusive to Etruscan funerary art, since the practice of juxtaposing myths had a long tradition in Etruria since painted pottery became widespread. The sarcophagus from Torre San Severo **[Cat. 31]**, for example, juxtaposes the sacrifice of the Trojans with that of Polyxena and two episodes from the *Odyssey*; the painting in the François Tomb **[Cat. 47]** is placed alongside a historical battle, Trojan and Theban myths, and other heroic figures; while an Amazonomachy frames the Sarcophagus of the Priest **[Cat. 33]**. In all these episodes of myth there is an emphasis on violence and bloody scenes

[399] Blanck 1982, 6-8.

(Table 9), while at the same time, some funerary monuments display their subjects symmetrically.[400]

Cat. no.	Date (BC)	Provenance	Juxtaposed myths	Lid	Occupant
31	350-325	Orvieto	Sacrifice of Polyxena; Odysseus and Circe; Odysseus sacrificing a ram	Flat	Male?
33	350-340	Tarquinia	Amazonomachy	Flat with male figure	Male
38	350-325	Tarquinia	Eteocles and Polynices; Oedipus and Jocasta; Battle between Greeks and Trojans; Ajax and Odysseus; Sacrifice of Iphigeneia	No lid	Male
41	310-300	Tuscania	-	Flat with male reclined figure	Male
47	350-300	Vulci	Eteocles and Polynices; Sisyphus and Amphiaraos; Ajax and Cassandra; Phoenix; Nestor.	N/A	Various

Table 9. Myths juxtaposed to Achilles' sacrifice of the Trojans in Etruscan funerary monuments.

The themes carved on the Sarcophagus from Torre San Severo **[Cat. 31]** show parallels between its two long sides (*Iliad* scenes) and its two short sides (*Odyssey* scenes). In this way, Achilles' sacrifice of a Trojan witnessed by the shade of Patroclus on the long side A becomes Neoptolemos' sacrifice of Polyxena witnessed by the shade of Achilles on the long side B. The role of Achilles on this sarcophagus is twofold: first as performer and then as recipient of a sacrifice.

[400] On symmetrical subjects depicted on Etruscan funerary and other types of monuments, see Van der Meer 1985. He identifies three types of symmetrical comparison of myths and heroes: a) moral/propagandistic; b) conceptual; and c) symmetry that shows emancipative values.

Interestingly, such a practice seems to be an attribute exclusive to the Greeks, as on both sides the victims are Trojans (a male and a female respectively). This is further supported on the short side D, where Odysseus is sacrificing a ram. The blood of the animal is supposed to animate the dead, so they can talk to the hero. The shades of the dead to whom the sacrifice is performed should be understood as being inside the cartoon-like cloud symbolising the underworld. Another indication of this setting is further emphasised by the depictions of Hades and Persephone witnessing Achilles' slaughtering the Trojans on the long side A of the sarcophagus. Similar to the long sides, the scene of Odysseus sacrificing the ram is preceded by the one depicted on the short side C. Here Odysseus' companions are the victims of Circe's power, while the hero remains invulnerable.

Trojan episodes are also combined in **[Cat. 33]**, where the episode of Achilles sacrificing Trojans is framed by Amazonomachies. This combination was probably suitable as Achilles fought against the Amazons, killing their queen, Penthesileia. Interestingly, on a calyx-krater by the Turmuca Painter, Penthesileia (*Pentasila*) is depicted in the underworld, veiled and wearing bandages from her fatal wounds. The scene is juxtaposed with a scene of sacrifice, similar to that on the sarcophagus.

A great deal has been said about the parallels between the paintings in the *tablinum* of the François Tomb **[Cat. 47]**. For example, it is generally believed that the paintings were created in order to compare the historic victory of the warriors from Vulci (right wall) to the Greek mythical scenes on the opposite wall, as first articulated by Coarelli three decades ago. He states that the association would have been evident to ancient visitors to the tomb, who would have seen the duel between Eteocles and Polynices on the left wall mirrored on the right wall by the battle between *Marce Camitlnas* and *Cneve Tarchunes Rumach*.[401] He also suggests that there is a perfect parallel between the two paintings: first, the Greeks sacrifice the

[401] Coarelli 1985, 46.

Trojans; then, the Etruscans, like the Greeks, kill the Romans, the descendants of the Trojans. In this way, the paintings convey an anti-Roman proclamation. This view is strengthened when we add that the Etruscans associated themselves from an early date with Greek heroes whom they considered their ancestors. However, first Alföldi and then Small argue there is no such equivalence between the paintings, for they juxtapose the destruction of the Trojans after their capture with the freeing of the heroes of Vulci.[402]

There are, however, some difficulties with both positions. Firstly, according to Alföldi, it would be peculiar to represent the murder of their ancestors. Secondly, the total equality suggested by Coarelli does not happen in these paintings. For instance, Ajax restrains the Trojan prisoner in preparation for his death, while on the opposite site *Macstrna* liberates *Caile Vipanas*. In addition, the warriors from Vulci are fighting not only Romans, but an allied force of Romans and Etruscans, which complicates the problem. Massa-Pairault suggests that the owner of the tomb, *Vel Saties*, may have wanted to stigmatise those Etruscans who in his time were partisans of the Romans.[403] Furthermore, the duel between Eteocles and Polynices depicted in this tomb and in a not insignificant number of sarcophagi –and which later became very popular on funerary urns– could signify that fights between members of the same family (or the same nation) are purposeless.[404]

[Cat. 38] and **[Cat. 39]** show a combination of Trojan and Theban myths, some of them similar to those in the François Tomb. For example, the slaying of the Trojans by Achilles in **[Cat. 38]** is also juxtaposed with Ajax and Cassandra and with the duel between Eteocles and Polynices. However, the Theban episode on this sarcophagus is larger than their progenitors, Oedipus and Jocasta, both assisted by

[402] Alföldi 1965; J. P. Small 1991, 56.
[403] Massa-Pairault 1992, 119.
[404] J. P. Small 1981, 104-108; Krauskopf 1988, 29-32. On the subject as a warning to avoid quarrels between the surviving members of a family after someone's death, see De Angelis 1999. For a list of the alabaster urns from Chiusi illustrating mythological subjects, see Stevens 2001, 101-113.

male figures, observe the fratricide. A similar underlying idea may connect this with another confrontation on the short side C. This time Ajax is facing Odysseus; that is, two warriors of the same side. They are each being restrained by a companion, similar to the male figure restraining Ajax (?) on the long side A of this sarcophagus. On the other hand, if the sacrifice of Polyxena is depicted on the short side D, the juxtaposition of these myths would be similar to that observed on the long sides of the Sarcophagus from Torre San Severo **[Cat. 31]**.

Turning to the meaning of the episode of the sacrifice of the Trojans by Achilles, Maggiani has noted that, regardless of the origin of the composition, the presence of Agamemnon in the scenes offers some legitimacy to Achilles' violence.[405] In this sense, the message suggested by the depiction of the hero, who appears performing his duties of honouring Patroclus after his death, was an appropriate one for the male members of the Saties and Partunu families over the generations.[406] Alföldi is probably right when he notes that the display of human sacrifice and murder in Etruscan art may arouse aversion in us, but that we have to consider that punishment and revenge were the only forms of rendering justice in ancient times.[407] As a result, the violent actions of Achilles and the heroes from Vulci are justified and venerated. Alternatively, the episode also implies the end of Achilles' anger. This is further emphasised by Agamemnon's presence at the sacrifice, which ultimately contributed to the unity (*homonoia*) the Greeks needed to win the war against the Trojans.[408]

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[405] Maggiani 1985.

[406] The inscriptions in the atrium of the tomb give us the names of some of the other occupants of the François Tomb. Two women of the gens *Tarna(s)*, possibly previous wives of Vel Saties were buried with him. Other occupants of the tomb include *Thana Tarnai* daughter of an unknown Saties. *Larth* (or Laris) *Mura(s)*, son of Arnth and an *Arnth Muras*, probably his father. Other members of the Saties family include *Laris Saties*, son of Larth, and *Thanchvil Verati*, a woman found in chamber 5, as indicated by a painting on the impasto door of the chamber. This shows that the tomb was in use for two to three generations. See Buranelli 1987, 147-162.

[407] Alföldi 1965, 224.

[408] D'Agostino 2003, 106. For *homonoia/Concordia* in the Francois Tomb, see Musti 2005, 485-508, esp. 489-495; Cerchiai *et al.* 2015, 316-317.

The subsequent destruction of the Trojans – and in some cases Achilles' fatal end – is indicated by the other myths that decorate some of the monuments. For example, in the François Tomb **[Cat. 47]**, we see that being gifted with foresight does not change someone's destiny. In this view, Phoenix was unable to prevent Achilles' destruction, while Cassandra could not persuade anyone to prevent the predestined destruction of Troy. On **[Cat. 31]** Achilles is represented both dead and alive, demonstrating to viewers that even the greatest heroes are mortal too.

That the popularity of the subject in Etruria was due to successful sales in the market or that one workshop was 'obsessed' with its message, as Lowenstam argues, are strong claims and difficult to prove. The fact that fewer than 10 items feature the subject, five of which come from Etruria, does not necessarily make it popular.[409] However, we have to ask why someone would commission a tomb or a sarcophagus decorated with this particular topic.

(b) Battle scenes and Amazonomachies. The mythical battle between Greeks and Trojans and between Greeks and Amazons was not exclusive to Greek art, but it was also used by different peoples in Italy and Anatolia. This sub-section discusses the funerary uses of these battle scenes in an Etruscan sphere. I will argue that the selection of these subjects has, in some cases, strong funerary undertones, thus offering types of heroic battles that have no parallel in the Greek word.

Battle scenes, in some cases inspired in the *Iliad*, occur on **[Cat. 37]**, **[Cat. 38], [at. 40]** and **[Cat. 49]**. However, among the mythical battle scenes that decorate Etruscan funerary monuments, the Amazonomachy is the most common subject.[410] Although it is absent from the repertoire of tomb painting, during the fourth century BC Amazonomachies appear in ten out of a total of 18 sarcophagi with mythological depictions in southern Etruria. They are distributed in the following way: five

[409] Lowenstam 2008, 4.
[410] Note that Celtomachies were also popular on sarcophagi in the third century BC.

sarcophagi from Tarquinia: **[Cat. 33]**, **[Cat. 34]**, **[Cat. 35]**, **[Cat. 36]** and **[Cat. 37]**; three from Tuscania: **[Cat. 44]**, **[Cat. 45]** and **[Cat. 46]**; and two from Vulci: **[Cat. 48]** and **[Cat. 49]**. In some cases, this myth is represented with new schemes and an iconography that differs from Greek monuments.

Amazonomachies in Etruria were first studied by Camporeale in the late 1950s. About two decades later, *LIMC* recognised its relevance in classical art by including an entry under *Amazonae Etruscae*.[411] Both studies focus on the depiction of Amazons in red-figure vases, engraved mirrors, Praenestine *cistae*, and sarcophagi.[412] Considering that the latter type of monuments was primarily part of the funerary equipment, the Amazonomachy and other mythical battles could also be charged with funerary connotations.

The subject is not exclusive to funerary monuments in Etruria, since they are also present in some tombs in Anatolia, sometimes in a lavish scale as in the Mausoleum or in the *heroon* at Trysa.[413] The case of Etruria, however, is different and is restricted to stone sarcophagi which were placed inside the tombs and sometimes displaying an original iconography.

The Amazonomachy in Etruria has a long presence appearing in three different moments and in diverse media. The first is related to archaic architectural relief decoration; fragments from Campania and Cerveteri attest to the Amazonomachy public display as early as the sixth century BC.[414] The second is observed in red-figure vase painting, while the third appears in connection to funerary monuments, such as *cistae* from Praeneste and sarcophagi during the fourth century

[411] Camporeale 1959, 107-137. The entry in *LIMC* was written by Mavleev 1981.
[412] Some examples can be found in *AE* no. 2, 12, 21, 49 (vases); no. 13-16 and 19 (mirrors); no. 9, 28a, 32, 32a, 42, 46 (*cistae*). The subject, however, has not hitherto appeared in wall painting.
[413] *Cf*. below, Chapter 4.
[414] *AE* no. 5: terracotta antefix from Campania (Capua, Mus. Arch. P 278) and no. 6: terracotta relief from Cerveteri (Rome, Villa Giulia 16388).

BC.[415] In the latter type of monument, the subject may occur in one or more sides of a coffin and it is normally juxtaposed with other mythological scenes, with one exception from Tarquinia **[Cat. 35]** and another from Vulci **[Cat. 48]**, decorated with an Amazonomachy on their four sides.

After the preceding description of Amazonomachies on Etruscan sarcophagi, it is now possible to discuss differences in composition, juxtaposition with other myths and possible meaning. The table below summarises some of the main aspects of the sarcophagi under discussion. It show us, for example, that the selection of the subject does not seem to be related to the gender of the deceased, since it appears on sarcophagi of male and female occupants, with **[Cat. 49]** belonging to a couple **(Table 10)**.

Cat. no.	Date (BC)	Provenance	Juxtaposed subjects	Lid	Occupant	Outcome
33	350-325	Tarquinia	Achilles' sacrifice of the Trojans	Flat with male figure	Male	Amazons win
34	330-300	Tarquinia	Centauromachy; Orestes and Pylades	Flat with reclined male figure	Male	Uncertain
35	350-325	Tarquinia	Actaeon (lid)	Gable roof	Female	Uncertain
36	330-300	Tarquinia	Animal fight (reliefs: below)	Flat with male figure	Male	Not identifiable
37	330-300	Tarquinia	Iliad scenes; man on a quadriga	Flat with raised ends and reclined male figure	Male	Uncertain
44	330-320	Tuscania	Animal fight	No lid	Female (?)	Amazons win
45	310-300	Tuscania	-	Flat with raised ends and reclining male figure	Male	Uncertain
46	310-300	Tuscania	-	Flat	?	Amazons win
48	325-300	Vulci	-	No lid	?	Uncertain
49	330-300	Vulci	Animal fight	Flat with male and female figures	Male and female	Uncertain

Table 10. Etruscan sarcophagi with Amazonomachies.

[415] Camporeale 1959, 108.

The Amazonomachy is frequently depicted on Greek vases and reliefs from the fifth and fourth centuries BC. The subject on vases of Etruscan manufacture is, unlike red-figure Apulian versions, limited to single motifs. Therefore, it seems that Etruscan models of the Amazonomachy developed from Attic vases dated after the middle of the fifth century BC, which show depictions of complex scenes of Amazons fighting Greeks. Closer to our sarcophagi, the slabs of the Amazonomachy from the Mausoleum or, more likely, graphic reproductions of these slabs might have informed Etruscan artists about the combination of different motifs in a relief composition, as observed in **[Cat. 34]**, **[Cat. 37]**, **[Cat. 44]** and **[Cat. 49]**.[416] Apparently, these were widespread throughout the Greek world, as some of the compositions have also strong affinities with the Amazon Sarcophagus in Vienna. Nevertheless, we cannot neglect the fact that sculptural renderings in Magna Graecia (for example, in Taranto) and a very strong local tradition inspired by Greek models for at least two hundred years (as seen in depictions of the subject in pottery, both of local and imported manufacture), may have played a very important role in the reproduction of Greek models and schemes of the Amazonomachy in Etruria. The models observed in fourth-century BC Etruscan relief sarcophagi show similarities with the continuous friezes of Amazonomachies on the so-called silvered vases during the same period.[417]

The similarities of **[Cat. 49]** with the reliefs of the Mausoleum has been noted by Brunn and discussed later by Camporeale.[418] These similarities are further observed when looking at the other side of the coffin, on which a confrontation between male warriors on foot and on horseback occurs. Even when this side does not depict an Amazonomachy, its design closely follows that on the Mausoleum as

[416] Camporeale 1959, 124.
[417] Orvieto, Museo Claudio Faina, inv. 366 and 377: two ovoid neck-amphorae, *ca*. 300 BC (inv. 377 comes from Castel Giorgio). On Etruscan silvered vases featuring Amazonomachies, see Michetti 2003, 48-50.
[418] Brunn 1865 (quoted in Camporeale 1959, 125, n. 57).

the male warriors are nude with flying mantles and circular shields. The first group of the side with Amazonomachy, for example, recalls the 'hair-pulling' motif on slabs number 1022 and 1008 of the Mausoleum's frieze in the British Museum.[419] Another variation is present in the depiction of the Amazons' shields. In the Mausoleum they have either large or small round shields, but in **[Cat. 49]** they are armed with *peltae*. This is a strong indication that the *pelta* was an introduction from other models available to the artist such as vase painting. In spite the fact that *peltae* are rendered only in two other representations of Amazonomachies in Etruscan sarcophagi **([Cat. 35]** and **[Cat. 37]**), they do appear later (*ca*. 200 BC) on terracotta sarcophagi from Tuscania and on ash urns from northern Etruria.[420]

At this point it is useful to mention an example from Vulci, namely the Etruscan historical event present in the François Tomb **[Cat. 47]**.[421] The battle scene is close both in composition and in spirit to the scene on **[Cat. 49]**. For example, the first duel in the sarcophagus is similar in composition to the first duel of the Etruscan warriors painted in the tomb. There is another subject they have in common: animal-fight scenes decorate both the tombs' friezes and the short sides of the sarcophagus (Figs. 166 and 168). As some of the motifs present on **[Cat. 49]** have been compared to those in the Mausoleum, the single duels in the tomb paintings could find parallels in Greek models. Yet the composition, as a whole, is unique.

Some details on **[Cat. 34]**, such as flying mantles, the shape of the shields and short chiton, recall certain motifs from the Mausoleum, while the short boots worn by Amazons may find an antecedent in vase painting.[422] The first group corresponds to the third on **[Cat. 49]**; the second recalls that on slab 1014 of the

[419] See Ashmole 1972, figs. 191 and 202.
[420] Gentili 1997, 141, 185 nos. A4 and B185. According to the author, in these monuments *peltae* were considered symbols of *virtus*.
[421] For the Etruscan saga, see Pallottino 1987.
[422] For example in an oinochoe from Tarquinia (Mus. Naz. RC 1644), dated to the early fourth century BC. See *EVP* 67 no. 3; Camporeale 1959, 113, fig. 14; *AE* no. 21.

Mausoleum, though with some variations.[423] Camporeale observes that in this group the male warrior is the only one among all the standing figures to break the rule of head alignment between them.[424] The third group follows the model of the 'hair-pulling' motif, but separated by a tree. Therefore, the Amazonomachy on this sarcophagus is closer to Etruscan models.

On **[Cat. 36]**, the composition does not present any logical order. Three consecutive groups are rendered asymmetrically, placed next to one another. The Amazon of the second group occupies the central part of the coffin. Interesting is the variation of the 'Dexilean' motif at the end of the right side, expanded to include an arched figure to the left, having no precedents in Greece nor in Etruria. A peculiar figure is the one near the centre who is leaning on his four extremities behind the central Amazon, indicating a fallen warrior between two enemies. Furthermore, the 'hair-pulling' motif present on the first group is the only example in which the Amazon is not on her knees. Here, she is completely seated with her right hand over the ground and exposed torso. This invites us to take a look at other sarcophagi on which fully nude Amazons and other Etruscan variations appear.

As inferred from the description of the sarcophagi and their artistic composition, it is possible to point out some of the original elements in Etruscan Amazonomachies. First, the representation of fully nude Amazons was an Etruscan trend. They appear on an amphora from Vulci, on engraved mirrors and on painted and carved sarcophagi. On the last type, fully nude Amazons are represented lying dead, as on one of the short sides of **[Cat. 35]**. The bronze figurines on the lid of a cista from Palestrina (*ca*. 330 BC), representing two female (?) warriors in the act of carrying a fully nude, dead Amazon provide another example.[425] Fully nude Amazons are also depicted on **[Cat. 48]** as fallen on one of the short sides and engaged in

[423] Ashmole 1972, fig. 207.
[424] *'…questa e l'unica di tutte le figure in piedi per la quale non e osservata la norma del'isocefalia'*. Camporeale 1959, 130.
[425] Rome, Villa Giulia 13199, *cista* 'Barberini'. *AE* no. 11, with bibliography.

combat. The latter provides the only example of Amazons fighting completely nude in contemporary art. It is important to mention that heroic male nudity in Etruscan sarcophagi is not as common as it is in Greek representations of the subject, and it is found exclusively on relief sarcophagi **[Cat. 34]**, **[Cat. 46]**, **[Cat. 48]** and **[Cat. 49].** Partially dressed Amazons, similar to those in Greek art, are rendered on **[Cat. 37]** from Tarquinia, and on **[Cat. 44]** and **[Cat. 46]** from Tuscania. In these examples, Amazons are depicted with bare torsos.

The introduction of fully nude Amazons may stand for a type of female heroic nudity. Considering the context in which nudity appears suggests that this is not the case. Apart from the victorious fully nude Amazon in the front of **[Cat. 48]**, in all other cases fully and partially nude Amazons are depicted as fallen or dying **[Cat. 35]**, **[Cat. 37]** and on the rear and the short side of **[Cat. 48]**. This happens in a similar context for depictions of female nudity in Greek art. In these representations nudity is used to accentuate the vulnerability and weakness of the female in scenes of rape and murder, also observed in the Cassandra figure on **[Cat. 38]**.[426] This is also the case for the fallen nude Amazons, which no longer look heroic.

Secondly, there are some variations in dress and weaponry. For example, on **[Cat. 33]** and **[Cat. 35]** from Tarquinia, the Amazons wear long dresses – this is rarely depicted in Greek sculptural representations of the subject.[427] This may imply continuity for a specific type of Amazon elaborated in Tarquinian workshops. However, Amazons wearing long dresses are exclusively found in painted sarcophagi and they never occur in relief sarcophagi or outside Tarquinia.[428]

Turning to weaponry, the last figure on the rear of **[Cat. 34]** shows a male warrior fighting with a rock. This is echoed on the rear of this sarcophagus where a

[426] See Cohen 1993, 37-46. For injured warriors on red-figure vases, see Saunders 2010, 1-21.

[427] An Amazon wearing long dress appears in the internal frieze of the temple of Apollo at Bassae (*ca*. 420 BC).

[428] For Amazons wearing long dresses on Attic red-figure vase painting, see *ARV²* 963, no. 83 bis; Bothmer 1957, 189, pl. 81, 4.

Centaur holds a rock. While the latter is part of a long iconographic tradition in vase painting and sculpture, warriors fighting with rocks or stones are not frequently depicted. Apart from its depiction on **[Cat. 34]** the motif in an Amazonomachy appears on the first figure and last figures of **[Cat. 45]** and on a calyx-krater in Paris dated to the end of the fourth century BC.[429] Here, however, the Amazon holds a rock as it is also observed in an Athenian red-figure lekythos by the Klügmann Painter, which shows an Amazon with stone and spear.[430] An object (rock?) used as weapon also appears on one of the long sides of a sarcophagus from Tarquinia.[431] In this sarcophagus a female figure fights alone between male hunters who try to defend themselves against a lion, a panther and a griffin. She does not attack one of the animals, but grasps with her left hand the head of a male opponent, while holding the rock (?) with her raised right hand about to inflict a mortal injury. Although the figure could be interpreted as an Amazon, the presence of animals indicates that it is more likely to be Artemis, as Van der Meer correctly suggests.[432] Perhaps Amazons fighting with rocks were intended to be compared with Centaurs, uncivilised and violent creatures. In this way, the use of a rock rather than a proper weapon highlighted the Amazons' eccentricity.

Thirdly, unquestionable Etruscan Amazonomachies are those with winged demons. They may appear framing the scene **[Cat. 48]**, or actively participating in it as in **[Cat. 33]**, **[Cat. 34]**, and the rear side of **[Cat. 48]**. The latter shows female winged demons in the act of lifting the corpses of fallen warriors. Demons are common in Etruscan funerary art and they frequently appear in wall painting and sarcophagi. For example, in the Tomb of the Blue Demons at Tarquinia (*ca*. 400 BC) they have driven the dead into an antechamber where there is a ship that will take

[429] Paris. Cab. Med. 921. *EVP* 142 no. 9; Camporeale 1959, 118; *AE* no. 49.
[430] Athens, private collection; *ARV*² 1199.14.
[431] *H* no. 96.
[432] Van der Meer 2004, 36-37.

them to their final destination. [433] This is also the mission of the Charun figure on a sarcophagus, also from Tarquinia who leads the dead woman across a door.[434]

Finally, landscape elements, such as trees, rocks and clouds (?) provide some kind of outdoors setting. Camporeale is mistaken when stating that trees do not create a sense of different plans on the Amazonomachy carved on **[Cat. 34]**.[435] If we look carefully, we will observe that trees do create (though slightly) a sense of background, particularly on the third and fourth duels where trees are clearly behind the human figures. The motif could have been borrowed from Amazonomachies in vase-painting, as we observe on an amphora from Vulci on which the 'hair-pulling' motif is depicted next to a tree.[436] Rocks are also carved alongside trees in **[Cat. 34]**, while in **[Cat. 44]** the fallen figure to the right is leaning on the only rock depicted in the scene.[437] A rocky background appears on all four sides of **[Cat. 35]**. In funerary art depictions of rocks mark the threshold between this and the other world, as depicted in the Tomb of the Blue Demons and on the vase by the Turmuca Painter mentioned above. This, however, seems not to be the case of our sarcophagi, where rocks are depicted as part of the landscape.

Unique to sarcophagus **[Cat. 48]** are clouds. They are depicted as emerging from above on the long sides and on one of the short sides. However, the cloud emerging from the left on one of the short sides makes this interpretation problematic. Did the artist intend to depict clouds or perhaps did he wish to represent a misty environment? Perhaps by depicting clouds in this way the artist of this sarcophagus wanted to provide some kind of atmospheric event, such as a thunder

[433] For an interpretation of the scene in this tomb, see Roncalli 1997, 40-44. For the paintings, see Adinölfi *et al*. 2005. For the Etruscan Afterlife, see Briquel 1987; Simon 1997; Jannot 2000, 81-99; Krauskopf 2006.

[434] Tarquinia, MAN. Stone sarcophagus of *Hasti Afunei*. For the meaning of doors, see Jannot 1984.

[435] Camporeale 1959, 129.

[436] Vulci, Torlonia Collection. See *EVP* pl. II, 8. See also an Attic red-figure neck-amphora from Suessula (*ARV*^{2} 1344.3; *Add* 368). Trees, nonetheless, are not rare in Etruscan funerary art as they are depicted in tomb painting at Tarquinia (Tomb of the Triclinium). They also exist in the underworld as seen in Tomb of Orcus I. *EP* 330, fig. 244.

[437] Another single rock is depicted on the front.

or a storm. This does not exclude the possibility of clouds having eschatological connotations. For example, a demon is depicted looking from behind the clouds on the long side B of **[Cat. 48]** and on a vase from Orvieto, while another demon driving a chariot (Charun?) is set against a cloudy background on one of the walls of the Tomb of the Infernal Quadriga in Sarteano.[438] Other tomb paintings use cloudy patterns to indicate the scene is taking place in the underworld, as seen in scenes with Hades and Persephone in the Tomb of Orcus II **[Cat. 32]** at Tarquinia and in the Golini Tomb I in Orvieto. In contrast, cloudy patterns in some engraved bronze mirrors made after 350 BC suggest the scene is taking place in a divine sphere.[439]

When the Amazonomachy does not appear as the only subject on a sarcophagus, it is usually combined with other battle scenes. This is the case in the Centauromachy on **[Cat. 34]**, a frequent combination in Greek public monuments since the fifth century BC. A battle between Greeks and Trojans appears alongside the Amazonomachy on the long side A of **[Cat. 37]**; while the two short sides C and D probably show Achilles and Patroclus in a quadriga. Other isolated episodes with heroic figures may also appear, such as the flight of Orestes and Pylades on **[Cat. 34]**, Bellerophon fighting the Chimaera on **[Cat. 45]**, and the death of Actaeon on the tympana of the lid of **[Cat. 35]**. The latter is an interesting combination considering that the hero was killed by Artemis. The goddess is not depicted, but we know that she was known as the protector of the Amazons who worshipped Artemis (Fig. 118).[440] On the other hand, animal fights are featured on **[Cat. 36]**, **[Cat. 44]**, and **[Cat. 49]**, perhaps as a means to emphasise the aggressive, wild nature of the Amazons.

[438] For the vase, see Martelli 1987. For the tomb, see Steingräber (2006b) 215.

[439] For cloudy patterns in the Golini Tomb I, see *EP* no. 32; on engraved mirrors, see Van der Meer 1995, 11, figs. 33, 36, 40 (*ES* 5, 49), 48 (*ES* 398).

[440] To this tradition belongs the famous sculptors' competition in the fifth century BC of Amazon statues to be dedicated in the temple of Artemis at Ephesos (Pliny, *NH,* 34.53). See Torelli 2011.

Considering these observations, the question arises as to whether Amazons fighting Greeks should indeed be associated with the Trojans, since according to Greek mythology Amazons supported the latter against the Greeks. Yet, it has to be noted that on the discussed sarcophagi either the outcome is unclear or Amazons defeat the male warriors **(Table 11)**. Victorious Amazons are depicted on **[Cat. 33]**, where the Greek warriors lose five times and the Amazons only once. Here, therefore, the Amazons are represented as superior. Sarcophagus **[Cat. 35]** shows on one long and one short side the Amazons in the act of winning the struggle whereas on both opposite sides they are represented losing it. On **[Cat. 44]** Amazons seem to be victorious in two of the three duels; while in both duels depicted on **[Cat. 46]** Amazons defeat their opponents. This suggests that the Etruscans did not consider the Amazons as allies or as symbolising the Trojans. However, regardless of who is victorious in the Amazonomachies depicted on Etruscan sarcophagi, the point was certainly the heroic struggle (against an agreed knowledge that the Greeks usually win). If the Etruscans have completely changed the story, these scenes seem not enough to show it.

Apart from fighting Amazons, depictions of Amazons in the underworld appear on an Etruscan vase from Vulci (350-300 BC).[441] The vase shows a combination of mythological scenes similar to that on **[Cat. 33]**, only that this time it is Ajax (*Aivas*) and not Achilles, who performs the sacrifice witnessed by Charun; additionally, the Amazons are not fighting, but already dead as inferred from the

[441] Paris, Bibl. Nat. 920, red-figure calix-krater by the Turmuca Painter (*ca*. 330-300 BC). See *EVP* 136 no. 1; *AE* no. 12.

inscriptions and their bandages (Fig. 169, bottom).[442] They are the veiled ghosts of Andromache (*hinthi(al) Aturmucas*) and Penthesileia (*Pentasila*), walking behind Charun. Their bandages are similar to the ones worn by Patroclus, Achilles and Agamemnon on sarcophagi **[Cat. 31]**, **[Cat. 33]** and in the Tomb of Orcus II **[Cat. 32]**.[443] That on this vase Amazons are represented in the same way as other Greek heroes after their fatal end, suggests that these mythical women and their deeds were in some way admired.

Camporeale has argued that the Etruscans did not understand the theme.[444] However, the evidence discussed here indicates the opposite. The Greek figurative tradition presents three separate Amazonomachies: with Heracles, with Achilles, and with Theseus. The first two predominate until the end of the Persian Wars, while the last one continues into the subsequent period and served to reinforce Theseus as *the* Attic hero. After the Persian Wars, the Amazons are often interpreted as representing the Persian enemy. Accordingly, Greek Amazonomachies after 470 BC – with or without Theseus – recall the battle between Greeks and Persians.[445] On this subject it is generally acknowledged that in classical art Amazonomachies as well as

[442] Massa-Pairault (1992, 133-134) and (1996, 198-199) interprets the scene as Ajax slaughtering Thersites (not labelled) at Penthesileia's tomb. Nevertheless, the sources tell us that it was Achilles, not Ajax, who killed Thersites in revenge for having mocked at him and for having pierced Penthesileia's eye with a spear after her death. Furthermore, no tomb is depicted on the vase while the sources are contradictory on this matter: some say that Achilles buried her, but others mention that Diomedes threw her dead body into the river Scamander. Maggiani (1985, 210) and Martelli (1987, no. 174) note the similarity of the scheme with that of Achilles' episode, but they avoid to identify the victim. The former, however, suggests that the scene is a 'falsification' of a scheme, perhaps modified by the painter or specifically requested in this way for genealogical reasons, thus making Ajax the protagonist of the episode. In this regard, it would be interesting to know whether another vase by the Turmuca Painter with a scene of Ajax's suicide, said to be from Vulci as well, came from the same tomb as the vase in Paris as this would confirm Maggiani's suggestion. London, BM, F 480; *EVP* 136, 139, tab. 32, 2. See Van der Meer 2004, 35, n. 17.

[443] These appear in the sarcophagus from Torre San Severo **[Cat. 31]**, on the Priest Sarcophagus **[Cat. 33]**, and on the wall paintings in the Tomb of Orcus II **[Cat. 32]**, respectively. For the latter, see Torelli 1983, 7-17; Cristofani 1987; Weber-Lemann 1995, 71-100.

[444] Camporeale 1959, 107-137.

[445] For the Athenian receptivity of Persian culture, see Miller 2004, esp. 65-71.

Centauromachies represented the combat between victorious civilised Greeks and defeated non-Greek barbarians (**[Cat. 34]**, for example, has both subjects combined). The mentioned events and their bearings on painted vases conform chronologically with the Etruscan examples, which were naturally not attached to the same cultural and historical significance the subject had in Greece. There is, however, another approach which can help understand the Amazonomachy's meaning in Etruscan contexts and this may be found in connection with its use, as we shall see below.

(c) Orestes and related episodes. After the destruction of Troy, the surviving Greek heroes returned home. Among them Agamemnon's return to Argos led to his death, together with Cassandra, at the hands of his wife Clytemnestra and her lover Aegisthos. The distressed wife wanted to revenge Agamemnon's sacrifice of their daughter Iphigenia so the Greeks could finally sail towards Troy. When Orestes, Agamemnon's and Clytemnestra's son, returns to Argos he avenges the death of his father with the help of his sister Electra by killing her mother. In short, the story is that of a family curse, like that of Oedipus.

The sacrifice of Iphigenia is the subject on the short side D of **[Cat. 43]** and perhaps on one of the short sides of **[Cat. 38]** and **[Cat. 39]**. These two sarcophagi could nonetheless represent another sacrifice, namely that of Polyxena, which is also represented on the long side B of **[Cat. 31]**. The representation of Iphigenia on **[Cat. 43]** is unique in that this scene shows Calchas who is about to slaughter a downhearted Iphigenia in the presence of her father Agamemnon, represented by a man sitting on the ground. However, Steuernagel argues that sitting on the ground is a conduct more appropriate for a slave and not for a king.[446] In fact, other representations of Iphigenia's sacrifice do show Agamemnon in despair, but usually standing. But as Herbig suggests, the Etruscan artist might have wanted to enhance

[446] Steuernagel 1998, 43-44.

Agamemnon's grief and, from a compositional point of view, maintain some kind of parallel between the two figures, as he has done on the long side B of the sarcophagus, carving similar schemes on each side of the altar.[447]

Orestes, a popular figure on Apulian red-figure vases, appears only thrice on Etruscan funerary monuments and exclusively on Tarquinian sarcophagi. Each depiction represents a different episode of the hero's life. For example, on **[Cat. 39]** he is depicted as an infant on the short side C and as a youth on the long side A, while perhaps his sister was intended on the opposite short side. The story of the violent episode during his infancy goes that Telephos attempted to kill him unsuccessfully, an episode also depicted on an Apulian bell-krater, probably linked to a scene derived from comedy.[448] The episode on the long side is more tragic and it shows Clytemnestra's death. Orestes' subsequent flight from Argos to Delphi as he was being chased by the Furies, is represented on the long side B of **[Cat. 34]**, alongside Pylades.

If the scene on the short side D of **[Cat. 43]** is the sacrifice of Iphigenia, then three sides of this sarcophagus would be thematically related showing three different moments of the family's tragic end. These three side share similarities from a compositional point of view, as the three scenes occur at an altar. Furthermore, they are juxtaposed with the fatal end of another family, namely that of Oedipus on the long side B. The combination of Orestes' escape on **[Cat. 34]** is, however, less noticeable. Here, the scene which is placed on the far left, shares the same frame with a Centauromachy on the long side B of the sarcophagus, while all other three

[447] However, a wall painting from Pompey (casa del Vicolo di Modesto) no longer extant showed Calchas cutting Iphigeneia's hair with a sword, whilst a downhearted, draped male figure is sitting to the left, perhaps Agamemnon. For a drawing of the scene, see *LIMC*, Iphigeneia, no. 40.

[448] Würzburg, Martin Von Wagner Museum HA5697; Apulian bell-krater by the Schiller Painter (*ca*. 370 CB); *RVAp* I 65, no. 4/4a. Some authors have argued that the scene represents an episode in Aristophane's *Women at the Thesmophoria* (line 730 ff.). See Csapo 1986; Taplin 1993, 36-40; Id. 2012, 14, fig. 6.

sides feature Amazonomachies. In other words, while all the figures on this sarcophagus appear engaged in battle, Orestes and Pylades run away. The selection of the heroes amongst these two mythical battles, which were often combined in public building and other media, is peculiar and has no parallels outside Etruria.

4.1.2. Theban myths

When Theban myths appear in Etruscan funerary monuments, they are always juxtaposed with Trojan ones. The number is not very large, appearing on five monuments: three sarcophagi from Tarquinia **[Cat. 38]**, **[Cat. 39]** and **[Cat. 40]**, one from Tuscania **[Cat. 42]** and one time in the François Tomb **[Cat. 47]**. Simon has stated that the destruction of Thebes by Alexander the Great in 335 BC motivated artists (or their patrons) to use Theban mythological scenes to act as pro-Alexander propaganda.[449] This seems to have been the case for the iconographic choice on a golden amphora from Thrace, depicting the story of the Seven against Thebes. Nonetheless, this does not necessarily seem to be the case in Etruria.[450]

(a) Eteocles and Polynices. The fratricide duel between Eteocles and Polynices is the most common of the Theban myths depicted on funerary monuments. They appear on **[Cat. 38]**, **[Cat. 39]**, **[Cat. 40]** and **[Cat. 47]**. The iconographic convention for the duel consists of two fighting figures armed with swords and shields; one of them has fallen on his knees. The main feature, however, is that both figures kill each other simultaneously. On sarcophagi **[Cat. 38]** and **[Cat. 39]** the fallen figure holds a shield, while on **[Cat. 40]** the standing figure is the one holding it. The painting in the François Tomb shows the two figures armed with swords only, while blood copiously pours out of their bodies. Among these examples, isolated episodes of Eteocles and Polynices appear on **[Cat. 38]** and **[Cat. 37]**; whereas the two series of Theban

[449] Simon 2000.
[450] Bulgaria, Panagjuriste Treasure (fourth-third century BC). See Simon 2000, 284-290.

scenes represented on the Tarquinian sarcophagi **[Cat. 38]** and **[Cat. 39]** have no contemporary or earlier parallels elsewhere in ancient art.

On **[Cat. 38]** and **[Cat. 39]** the confrontation between the brothers appears as part of a wider narrative alongside their parents, Oedipus and Jocasta, and other figures. The reason for this is that, unlike the themes on other sarcophagi, the scenes on these sarcophagi seem to be inspired by tragedies. Following the sequence of events in the literature, it has been suggested that the Theban scenes on **[Cat. 38]** should be read from right to left: Jocasta dying; Oedipus, blinded, leading into exile; the duel between the brothers. [451] The order of the scenes on **[Cat. 39]**, however, is more complex. If seen in a linear direction, the three first scenes from left to right seem to follow the same sequence as on **[Cat. 38]**. However, when considering the two scenes on the right side no logical order seems to operate. Therefore, Van der Meer has proposed a non-linear reading of the scenes from the centre to right and left: 4, 3, 5, 2, 1.[452] If his identification of the figure on the fourth group is Moeneceus and the final scene corresponds to Antigone and Creon, then the order will be: firstly, Menoeceus who secretly goes to sacrifice himself to prevent the war.[453] His forthcoming death is indicated by the female demon in the scene as observed on other sarcophagi and tomb painting. Secondly, there is the duel between Eteocles and Polynices. Thirdly, Antigone in front of Creon swears that she will bury her brother Polynices.[454] In the fourth place is Oedipus leading into exile, while Jocasta would correspond to the final scene. With reference to the second scene, it should be noted that Antigone brings Oedipus first to his dead wife Jocasta; and only afterwards does she lead him away into exile.[455] However, on **[Cat. 38]** and **[Cat. 39]**

[451] Brendel 1978, 385.
[452] Van der Meer 2004, 51.
[453] Eur. *Phoen*. 1014; 1090-92; 1302.
[454] *Ibid*. 1672.
[455] Eur. *Phoen.*1693 and 1710 respectively.

a man is assisting Oedipus, as is more often the case in Apulian and Etruscan illustrations.[456]

Sarcophagus **[Cat. 39]** presents us once more with the same problem of **[Cat. 38]**, where a non-linear reading was proposed. Van der Meer's proposed order of the scenes on **[Cat. 39]** offers a logical reading if we are to match Euripides' tragedy, but it is unlikely that any viewer (ancient or modern) would follow such an order when seeing the scenes carved in the sarcophagus.

The fratricide episode between Eteocles and Polynices is always juxtaposed with Trojan scenes. For example, the episode on **[Cat. 40]** is juxtaposed with a parricide on the opposite side, which shows Lycurgus killing his daughter, the nymph Ambrosia, and a battle between Greeks and Trojans on the front. In the François Tomb, the access to the *tablinum* is flanked by this scene and the duel between *Marce Camitlnas* and *Cneve Tarchunies Rumach* (inscribed). At the same time, the duel introduces the viewer to the scene of Achilles slaying of the Trojans on the left side of the *tablinum's* wall and to the Etruscan saga on the right.[457]

Apart from the various scenes that appear alongside **[Cat. 38]** and **[Cat. 39]**, other myths are part of the decorative programme of these sarcophagi. While the Trojan battle on the long side B of **[Cat. 38]** fills the complete frieze, all the other episodes require two or three figures each. As discussed above, the long side A combines isolated episodes of five different stories, namely two Trojan with three Theban episodes divided by a female winged figure who stands in the middle, perhaps Vanth or Lasa. The short side C of this sarcophagus shows the confrontation between Ajax and Odysseus, and the sacrifice of Polyxena or, less likely, Iphigenia on the other short side. Therefore, the reliefs of this sarcophagus reflect two unequal illustrative sources: a frieze of battle in the tradition of epic

[456] Nevertheless, the 'Oedipus' figure depicted on an Apulian red-figure oinochoe by the Darius Painter (Basel, Antikenmuseum BS 473; *RVAp II* 503, no. 73a) could be Tiresias addressing Oedipus or Creon. See *LIMC*, Oidipous, no. 84.

[457] See 3D reconstruction of the tomb at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QiPLbhlHypA.

narratives; and isolated episodes of Greek drama. The latter type seems to have been the main source of inspiration for **[Cat. 39]**. This sarcophagus juxtaposes the Theban saga with the sacrifice of Iphigenia or Polyxena on one of its short sides, as on **[Cat. 38]**; while its long side A and short side D are thematically connected with some episodes of Orestes' life. These are Telephos threatening him during his infancy and the episode of Orestes' killing of Aegisthos and his own mother, Clytemnestra. Therefore, this sarcophagus shows scenes of fratricide with matricide combined.

Juxtaposition of figures derived from the Trojan and Theban sagas are not exclusive to funerary monuments. It also occurs on a mirror from Vulci (*ca*. 300) where the Theban seer Amphiaraos (*Hamphiare*) and Ajax (*Aivas*) flank a winged female figure labelled Lasa.[458] It is interesting to note that both heroes appear in the François Tomb **[Cat. 47]**; in the underworld in the former, while the latter threatens Cassandra.

In an important study, Simon and Hampe concluded that the Theban saga was more popular in Etruria than it was in Greece itself.[459] This is seen, for example, in public buildings where the siege of the Seven against Thebes occurs in the pediment of a temple at Pyrgi as early as the mid-fifth century BC, as well as in the pedimental decoration of another temple at Talamone dated to around 150 BC.[460]The former represented the attack of Tydeus upon Melanippus, a scene with no precedents in Greek art.[461] Representations of the Theban cycle are also popular in funerary urns. However, they are rarely represented on bronze mirrors.[462] This confirms that stories related to the Theban cycle were known and popular almost a

[458] Bonfante and Swaddling 2006, fig. 14.
[459] Hampe and Simon 1964.
[460] Bonfante 1986, 10.
[461] Krauskopf 1974; *Ead*. 2011, 136-137, where she states that this subject could have been chosen by the religious authorities of the sanctuary, who played a role in the transmission of Theban myths.
[462] Van der Meer 1995, 30.

century before the destruction of Thebes by Alexander in 332 BC and that their popularity continued for a long time.

In depicting scenes of the Theban saga, the artists who made the funerary monuments under discussion wished to illustrate the horror of the deeds (for instance, fratricide, suicide and exile). But how are these scenes relevant to this context? In the terracotta temple reliefs from Pyrgi mentioned above, Athena raises her hand towards her face in horror. Here the context of the scene is religious instead of funerary. As such, the message is to avoid offending the gods. However, in the funerary monuments that feature episodes of Oedipus and the Seven against Thebes, the gods are never represented. On one level, the message seems to be the inescapability from fate and death. Yet, on another level, it is intended to have a more personal reading. The tragic episodes warn the viewers about the irrationality of family disputes after one of its members has passed away, as De Angelis has concluded in his analysis of the duel between Eteocles and Polynices carved on later funerary urns.[463] Therefore, the episode of the fratricide and related events shows us a group of ideas about death and destruction by agents both human and divine.

(b)The death of the Niobids. This is the subject of only one sarcophagus from Tuscania **[Cat. 42]**. Niobe, mother of 14 children made fun of the goddess Leto for having only two, namely Apollo and Artemis. In retaliation the divine brothers exterminated all of her descendants. In the previous chapter, we saw how Apulian painters, particularly in Daunia, approached the subject of the massacre **[Cat. 19]**, as well as of Niobe's mourning **[Cat. 21]** and **[Cat. 23]**. On the long side A of the sarcophagus, the scene is similar to that on the amphora by the Arpi Painter, only that this time Apollo and Artemis are seated and placed at each end of the scene. Artemis is depicted with wings, similar to Vanth, the Etruscan female demon of death;

[463] De Angelis 1999, 53-66, esp. 65-66.

Apollo is also winged. This Etruscan innovation was probably intended to maintain symmetry, but also to indicate that the figures are not human.

This Theban subject is juxtaposed with a Trojan episode on the short side D, which is the only example known from Etruria. It shows Achilles dragging Hektor's corpse tied to the chariot, while he carries Hektor's *spolia*.[464] The short side C, by contrast, shows a scene of Centauromachy. It is clear, therefore, that the main scene on **[Cat. 42]** is intended to show the fatal consequences of *hybris*, and victory over a fearless enemy such as Hektor, or over a savage creature (the Centaur). In any case, as seen on **[Cat. 34]** the combination of three apparently unrelated subjects on this sarcophagus, could find some unity in the idea of retaliation; divine in the case of the Niobids and human in the case of Achilles and the Lapiths, for Hektor killed Patroclus and the Centaurs raped the Lapith women.

4.1.3. Other myths

(a) The underworld. Odysseus' visit to Hades to learn from the seer Teiresias the way back home was a story immensely popular in antiquity and modern times, finding echoes in later authors such as Virgil and Dante's *Inferno*. In addition, thanks to Pausanias we have a description of Polygnotos' large wall paintings in the Lesche at Delphi, which were made in the fifth century BC. These paintings illustrated the *Ilioupersis* and the *Nekyia,* the latter according to the Odyssey and other literary sources.[465] Its name refers to a magical rite by which ghosts were invocated and questioned about the future, usually after drinking the blood of a sacrificed animal which they need in order to have a voice.

This sacrifice is represented on one of the short sides of the Sarcophagus from Torre San Severo **[Cat. 31]** that shows Odysseus sacrificing a ram to make the

[464] See *LIMC* I, Achle, no. 119 with Camporeale's discussion on section F: 'L'uccisione di Hektor'. A similar scheme with Achilles in a quadriga (but with no *spolia*) can be seen in the Apulian red-figure volute krater by the Darius Painter depicting Achilles sacrificing the Trojans in front of Patroclus' tomb. *Cf*. above, n. 161.

[465] Paus. 10. 28-30. For a reconstruction of the paintings, see Stansbury-O'Donell 1990.

ghost of Teiresias appear. The encounter between the two is also engraved on a contemporary bronze mirror on which *Turms Aitas* (Hermes *Psychopompos*) leads *hinthial Terasias* (Teiresias' ghost) towards the seated Odysseus (*Uthuze*), who holds the knife that he used to sacrifice the animal. Interestingly, on this mirror Teiresias is represented as a young woman (note the shoes), perhaps referring to his bisexual experience.[466]

The best visual account of the Etruscan underworld and its links with Greek notions of it is, nonetheless, provided by tomb painting. As mentioned above, the Tomb of the Blue Demons shows the Greek Charun in his boat already in the fifth century BC, while two demons are depicted on the right wall of the tomb alongside a rock or cliff. This landscape element symbolises the threshold between the world of the living and the world of the dead, a common feature in other funerary monuments and painted ceramics.[467] But it is not until the second half of the fourth century BC that a more articulated visualisation of the underworld is achieved. The paintings in the François Tomb **[Cat. 47]** and particularly in the Tomb of Orcus II **[Cat. 32]** show that these conceptions about the world beyond were important to the Etruscans.

As often in Etruscan funerary monuments, in the Tomb of Orcus II **[Cat. 32]** Greek gods and heroes mingle with Etruscan demons. In addition, the painting on the rear wall of Tomb of Orcus III shows *Uthuste* blinding the one-eye *Cuclu*, thus being thematically linked with the pictorial programme of the Tomb of Orcus II, as this event in Odysseus' journey precedes his visit to the underworld. [468]

The left wall of **[Cat. 32]** shows us that ghosts were also important in

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[466] This happened when, in two occasions, he stroked two snakes mating; the first time he was turned into a woman, the second time into a man.

[467] Roncalli 1997, 37-54; Jannot 2000, 81-99; Krauskopf 2006, 67.

[468] For an analysis of Polyphemos' scene in this tomb, see Weber-Lehmann 1995, 71-101. A new, earlier date into the late fourth century BC has been proposed for the paintings in the Tomb of Orcus III by Steingräber 2006c, 209. In any case, whether contemporary with Orcus II or of a later date, the paintings in Orcus III are still thematically linked with the pictorial programme of Orcus II: Odysseus' action against Poseidon's son triggered the god's anger against the hero and his companions. As a consequence, they were not able to find the way back home until Odysseus visits the underworld.

Etruscan mythology. In fact, the word *hinthial* – meaning 'shade', 'ghost' or 'image' – labels the figures of Teiresias and Agamemnon, as it appears labelling other figures on mirrors and painted ceramics. That these and the other figures next to them are in the underworld is enhanced by the bandages covering their fatal wounds. They walk as if taking part in a solemn procession, looking heroic despite their fate. However, not all the souls in the underworld look as heroic as these Greek heroes. For example, the *eidola* on the tree between Agamemnon and Teiresias are tiny and ithyphallic. They jump from branch to branch, like the souls of the suitors whom Odysseus kills when he returns to Ithaca.[469]

On the rear wall the rulers of the underworld, Hades and Persephone, are enthroned and surrounded by a cloudy atmosphere, even moodier than that observed in the Golini Tomb II. In front of them stands the triple-bodied giant Geryon, whose cattle Heracles brought back to accomplish his tenth labour. Therefore, Heracles is perhaps the intended figure on the opposite wall whose feet (and the cattle's) are the only remains. But as mentioned earlier, there is not further evidence to support Torelli's interpretation. An Apulian red-figure volute-krater by the Underworld Painter shows Heracles fighting Cerberus by the palace of Hades and Persephone who, like in **[Cat. 32]**, are also enthroned. In the tomb, however, the three-headed dog stands beside Geryon. In effect, the gods of the underworld could also appear above ground witnessing human sacrifices, as depicted on the long side A of **[Cat. 31]**. As mentioned above, the presence of the divine couple during the Trojans' slaughtering not only underlines Odysseus' sacrifice on the short side, but also links the two scenes with underworld allusions.

The punishment of mythical figures such as Amphiaraos and Sisyphos is depicted on **[Cat. 32]**, **[Cat. 47]** and, if Roncalli's interpretation is correct, on the

[469] Hom. *Od*. 24, 1-10.

sarcophagus of Laris Pulenas from Tarquinia.[470] In Greek mythology Sisyphos chained the god of death Thanatos to prevent the dead from reaching the underworld. As a punishment, he was condemned to roll a rock against a steep hill in Hades for all eternity. However, for the Etruscans, his crime consisted in moving the underworld's boundary stone from its fixed place.[471] In **[Cat. 32]** he is labaled *tupi sispes* (the crime or 'punishment' of Sisyphos). The figure is missing, but the remains of a wing suggest a composition similar to the one in the François Tomb and on the sarcophagus of Laris Pulenas. In these representations, a winged female demon, perhaps Vanth is besides Sisyphos to indicate the viewer that the scene takes place in the underworld. On the painting, he appears carrying a huge rock on his shoulders. On the sarcophagus, by contrast, Sisyphos is shown kneeling with his left hand on a rock. That he is in the underworld is indicated by the boulder that separates him from the five figures on the left side of the frieze, perhaps the same function of the rock on which Amphiaraos rests his foot on the painting in the François Tomb.

The Theban seer Amphiaraos, who took part in the siege of the Seven against Thebes, is labelled *Hamphiare* on an engraved mirror also from Vulci.[472] This time he is depicted alongside Lasa and *Aivas* (Ajax). The two heroes are seated on a rock with one leg bent on it, in a contemplative pose, similar to his representation in the François Tomb. Amphiaraos' dramatic end was also the subject of the pediment of the temple at Talamone mentioned above, where he is looking down into the fissure made by Zeus' thunder which is about to swallow him up. This cavity, it was said, became the oracular shrine of Amphiaraos. Therefore, his presence becomes relevant in the François Tomb as other seers or diviners are depicted too; the Greek Phoenix, the Trojan Cassandra and the Etruscan founder of the tomb, Vel Saties.

[470] Tarquinia, MAN, RC 9804 (*H* 111). Roncalli 1996, 41, fig. 1. This sarcophagus is not included in the Catalogue as it is dated in the third century (275-250 BC). Nevertheless, this does not exclude the possibility to use it as comparative material.
[471] Bonfante and Swaddling 2006, 32.
[472] London, BM, *ca*. 350 BC. *CSE* Great Britain 1.1.28b.

The latter is depicted performing an act of auspicium, thus identifying himself with the heroic figures in the *atrium*.

Last but not least, is the insertion of purely Etruscan underworld demons, Charun and Vanth. Their labour is not to punish the dead; rather, they escort them during their journey to their final destination. In representations of myth they could appear standing in violent scenes as if waiting to fulfil their job, as observed on **[Cat. 31]**, **[Cat. 33]**, **[Cat. 38]**, **[Cat. 39]**; or carrying the victims away, as on the Amazonomachies on **[Cat. 33]** and **[Cat. 34]**. In the underworld, however, some demons could be frightening, such as *Tuchulcha* who stands beside Theseus in the Tomb of Orcus II **[Cat. 32]**. The female demon who observes Sysiphos in **[Cat. 47]** is perhaps intended to remind him of his punishment; meanwhile the winged youths by the *kylikeion* emphasise the nature of the funerary banquet in **[Cat. 32]**.

(b) Heracles, Theseus and Bellerophon. Other heroes whose deeds were not part of the Trojan and Theban sagas are less frequently represented on funerary monuments. Theseus and possibly Heracles are only represented in the underworld in the Tomb of Orcus II. However, none of the two heroes is shown in the course of their exploits. For example, we know that Heracles, Theseus and Bellerophon engaged at different times in battles against the Amazons. However, despite the frequency of Amazonomachies on Etruscan sarcophagi, no main hero is depicted. The same applies for the Centauromachy on **[Cat. 34]** and **[Cat. 42]**.

The absence of *Hercle*/Heracles on Etruscan funerary monuments is particularly striking considering his huge popularity in Etruria. He frequently appears, for example, on mirrors, scarabs, sculptures, temples and painted ceramics. Both in Etruria and Lazio, bronze figures of *Hercle*, Roman Hercules, were dedicated at shrines and sanctuaries.[473] His absence from funerary monuments is perhaps due to the fact that he became immortal, something that may apply to other divinities. Apart

[473] Bonfante and Swaddling 2006, 34.

from Hades and Persephone on **[Cat. 31]**, **[Cat. 32]** and in the Golini Tomb II; and Apollo and Artemis on **[Cat. 42]** the gods of the Etruscan pantheon are not represented in funerary art.

Bellerophon appears only once on Etruscan funerary monuments. On the short side of **[Cat. 45]** he is riding on the winged horse Pegasus and fights the monstrous Chimaera, which has the head of a lion, the head of a goat and a snaky tail. The position of this sarcophagus in the Tomb of the Curunas I, with this short side facing the entrance surely caused an impression to those entering the tomb. The same episode is depicted on a contemporary bronze mirror from Bolsena (*ca*. 350-300 BC) where the hero thrusts a spear into the lion mouth of the monster. The famous large-scale Etruscan bronze statue of the Chimaera from Arezzo, found in a votice deposit near the city gates, might well have been part of a similar group with Bellerophon riding on Pegasus, much like this examples.[474]

(b) Enigmatic scenes. This category applies to those scenes depicted on Etruscan funerary monuments that seem to be recounting a myth, but the intended meaning of their visual articulation remain hidden to us. This is the case of the subject-matter of the two long sides and the short side C of **[Cat. 43]**, a figure on the long side of **[Cat. 45]** and the scene on the long side of **[Cat. 46]**, all three from Tuscania.

Among all the Etruscan sarcophagi featuring depictions of myth, **[Cat. 43]** is the most complex to decode as there are not enough visual parallels to help us with the interpretation of some of the scenes depicted on it. For example, one of the two male figures on the short side C of **[Cat. 43]** seems to be older (bearded). The younger figure has fallen on his knees. Because the sacrifice of Iphigenia is depicted on the other short side, it has been suggested that the victim on the short side C may be Achilles trying to prevent her murder. However, the scene looks very generic showing two warriors confronting each other, and they may well be connected to the

[474] See Colonna 1985.

other sides of the sarcophagus. In fact, Steuernagel has discussed the reliefs on all four sides of **[Cat. 43]**, as he is not fully persuaded by Herbig's and Van der Meer's previous interpretations of the scenes, for they are based on literary sources and do not consider visual parallels in Greek art.[475]

The scene in the long side A of **[Cat. 43]** has hitherto been read according to Aeschylus' tragedy *The Suppliants* and the reconstructed plot of the tetralogy. The central scene is thought to represent the Danaids' failed attempt to seek refuge at an altar in order to avoid a forced marriage to their cousins. Accordingly, the scene to the right would represent a subsequent event in the story, namely that of Danaos inciting one of his daughters to kill her husband on the wedding night. Another possibility is that the scene represents Hypermnestra and Lynceus. She disobeyed her father and did not kill her husband, who eventually murdered Danaus. In either case, the imploring woman to the right could be a nurse attempting to stop the murder.

While Steuernagel considers the altar scene as a supplication (*hikesia*), Van der Meer supports Herbig's interpretation due to the fact that at least one tragedy of Aeschylus includes a nurse. However, Steuernagel does not mention any visual parallel in his reading of the sarcophagus. With the exception of Cassandra's depiction seeking protection at an altar **[Cat. 38]** or from a statue placed at an altar **[Cat. 47]**, all other altar scenes on Etruscan sarcophagi involve sacrifice or murder. The *hikesia* scene on the long side A of **[Cat. 43]** is the only type on which more than one figure is seeking refuge.

The other long side of **[Cat. 43]** is even more difficult to decode. Herbig proposed the sacrifice of Celts at the Forum Boarium in Rome (between 228 and 216 BC), which would make the scene a historical episode, something unusual on

[475] Steuernagel 1998, 28-9, 47-50.

sarcophagi, but not in tomb painting as in **[Cat. 47]**.[476] However, Simon presents the idea that the scene represents a Theban myth after interpreting the figures behind the altar as Aphrodite and Ares who were worshipped at Thebes.[477] The story tells us that the *Epigonoi* found Thebes empty except for Teiresias and his daughter Manto represented on the sarcophagus by the seated man and the woman on the rock respectively.[478] The man on the far left carries three long sticks, possibly *obeloi*, in order to prepare a burying alive of a Celtic man and woman, and thus the amorphous objects carried by the men on the far right could be portions of meat. However, the sticks do not appear to have the sharp points common to *obeloi*, while the objects being carried could be something else (probably boulders). In addition, both the identification and function of the couple behind the altar are not clear. In fact, their gestures may exclude the possibility of statues, similar to the figure behind the altar depicted on **[Cat. 38]** and on a mirror from Perugia depicting the image of a numen, *flere* (inscribed on the well), emerging from or from behind a well.[479] Finally, it is unclear whether the man grasping the hair of the sitting woman is about to cut off her hair, something usually done before human sacrifices. In fact, to a certain extent, the action replicates that of Danaos (?) persuading his daughter on the opposite side. Furthermore, Steuernagel points out the fact that the victims look like supplicants and that the shapeless objects should be interpreted as a cuirass and a helmet. He further suggests that the scene behind the altar might represent the rape of a woman. However, this last suggestion is problematic since the woman seems not to be defending herself against the man (as depicted on **[Cat 38]**). The scene could represent a local myth or story, unknown to us. In fact, a very interesting aspect of

[476] *H*, 48.
[477] *LIMC*, Ares/Laran, no. 15 (Simon).
[478] Paus. 9.33.1-2: '...the Greeks declare that the Argives, along with the sons of Polynices, after capturing Thebes, were bringing Teiresias and some other of the spoil to the god at Delphi, when Teiresias, being thirsty, drank by the wayside of the Tilphusa, and forthwith gave up the ghost; his grave is by the spring';… 'They say that the daughter of Teiresias was given to Apollo by the Argives...'.
[479] *ES* 170. See Van der Meer 1995, 175, fig. 83.

these representations – if they are to be connected with any kind of human sacrifice – is the absence in the scene of death demons, which are nonetheless depicted on the other long side of this sarcophagus, and on the sacrifice scenes depicted on, for example, **[Cat. 31]**, **[Cat. 33]** and **[Cat. 47]**. If we consider the objects carried in the frieze, the fact that the victims are not bound, as well as the absence of demons of death, we may suggest that the scene probably depicts a sort of rite of passage. Moreover, the altar may be also a well. The fact that votive deposits have been found in or by water pits in Etruria indicate that the well was considered a sacred monument. For example, the Troilos scene in the Tomb of the Bulls in Tarquinia shows how well structures may have the form of an altar, as Prayon has pointed out.[480] If this is correct, the sculptor of our sarcophagi may have intended the half-figures above the altar or well as to point the invisible presence of the gods and their sacred nature.

Turning to the other enigmatic scenes, a bifrontal figure on **[Cat. 45]** probably corresponds to the Etruscan god Culśanś (Fig. 154).[481] Culśanś is associated with doors as confirmed by the goddess of the door to the underworld named by the inscription Culśu on a stone sarcophagus from Chiusi (third century BC); it is likely that she is the god named *cvl* in House 14 of the bronze Piacenza Liver (*ca*. 100 BC) which shows the 16 regions of the Etruscan heaven.[482] On **[Cat. 45]** the figure identified as Culśanś fights using a shepherd's crook against a male (?) figure who fights with a stone, similar to the male figure on the long side A of the Sarcophagus of the Magnate **[Cat. 34]**. If the depiction on **[Cat. 45]** corresponds to an Amazonomachy, it would be very close to that on the Tarquinian sarcophagus, except

480 See Prayon 1977, 181-187.

481 On a bronze statuette with his name from Cortona, see De Grummond 2006, 147.

482 Palermo, MA. See De Grummond 2006, 224, fig. X. 18. The whole inscription in the Piacenza liver reads *cvlalp* (Cvl[su] and Alp[an]). See Maggiani 1982, fig. 1; De Grummond 2006, 147, 157, fig. III.1a-b; Stevens 2009, 153-155, 162; Van der Meer 2011. (I couldn't find exacly where in your book you discuss the Piacenza liver – I only have the part about funerary rituals).

for the figure of Culśanś which would be an Etruscan addition (as the winged female demons on **[Cat. 34]**). However, if his opponent is a male, he could be also a Giant fighting against this 'god', thus being and Etruscan version of the Gigantomachy.

Finally, the scene on the long side of **[Cat. 46]** has been interpreted as a possible Amazonomachy.[483]This scene, however, is unusual and it is difficult to assume that this is an Amazonomachy as we know it from Greek or other Etruscan models. While the female figures wear a chiton, their male opponents are nude, sometimes wearing a mantle. All the figures wear Phrygian caps. However, unlike other Amazonomachies, no weapons are visible. On the front there are two duels flanking two figures, a female and a male warrior, seated on a quadrangular base. The female figures are victorious in both duels and the seated male warrior seems to be discouraged. It has been argued that the gesture of the seated female figure seems to be one of support for her fighting companion, as in a sporting competition.[484] These kinds of sporting scenes are not rare in funerary contexts as seen in tomb paintings made in the late sixth- and early fifth-centuries BC. The painted wrestling scene on the right wall of the Tomb of the Augurs at Tarquinia (530-480 BC), provides an example closer (although not identical) to the contest scenes on this sarcophagus.[485] In any case, this is a free treatment, an innovation on the part of the Etruscan sculptor regarding the more traditional schemes adopted from Greek exemplars. However, the fact that the right short side illustrates an Amazonomachy, does not necessarily imply the same interpretation for the front. Therefore this sarcophagus may be showing us a sporting competition, probably funerary, charged with heroic undertones.

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[483] Sgubini Moretti 1991, 58; Van der Meer 2004, 37.

[484] Sgubini Moretti 1991, 58. An Athenian black-figure fragment of a dinos by the Sophilos Painter (590-570 BC) illustrates a similar scene. The subject is the funerary games of Patroclus, where the spectators are also seated on both sides of a grandstand (*ABV* 39.16, 681; *Beazley Add* 10).

[485] *EP* 42.

4.2. Myths and the shedding of blood

In studying mirrors, which sometimes served as funerary objects, De Grummond reached the conclusion that the representation of bloody scenes was something actually desired, to satisfy the dead in some way.[486] In the François Tomb, for example, the scene of Achilles' immolation of the Trojan prisoners before the tomb of Patroclus not only shows the ritual function of the sacrifice during the funeral, but also numerous figures, both human and animal, whose blood drops out of their bodies (Figs. 165-166, 169). This finds parallels in earlier tomb painting, as seen in the bleeding, bound, victim who is being chased by a dog during a 'Phersu' game depicted in the Tomb of the Augurs at Tarquinia. Furthermore, despite the fact that the colours that once decorated the carved figures of the sarcophagi have faded away, the violence of the scenes suggest that the victims were bleeding, a feature still visible in the representation of the death of Actaeon on the lid of **[Cat. 35]**. Violent, sacrificial and tragic scenes depicted on Etruscan (and Apulian) funerary monuments were something sought after by the elites, particulalrly in the second half of the fourth century BC.[487]

It is still unknown whether real human sacrifices were actually performed in Etruria. The archeological evidence examined by Donati suggests that possible human sacrifices took place in various contexts including a *post-mortem* one, but Steuernagel has strongly argued against this possibility in funerary cult practice.[488] In 1961, Heurgon introduced the idea that actual human sacrifices were substituted by illustrations of them soon after 350 BC.[489] This would imply that the selection of

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[486] De Grummond 1982, 185.

[487] See Cerchiai *et al.* 2015, 309-319.

[488] Steuernagel 1998, 149-166; Donati 2004, 136-139. Human sacrifices as possibly part of foundation rituals on the Pian de Civita (Tarquinia) have been discussed by Haynes 2000, 27-28. However, not all the ritual killings in this location are related to the foundation of buildings as evidence shows that human sacrifices were performed only twice; see Bonghi Jovino 2010, 161-180, esp. 165-166.

[489] Heurgon 1961[2002], 244: *'…scenes of carnage* [offered] *the defunct a modest equivalent, but raised to a higher level by the prestige of the legend, of the human sacrifices which he could not afford and which we hope the increasing mildness of custom had abolished'.*

sacrificial scenes was made not only because they were suitable for a funerary monument, but also because the blood in the depictions was required, even if only metaphorically. The selection of other myths that appear next to the scene of Achilles' immolation of the Trojans supports Heurgon's theory. For example, in the *Odyssey*, Odysseus encourages the dead to approach him by means of rituals and sacrifices, including the sacrifice of a ram, as represented on the Sarcophagus from Torre San Severo **[Cat. 31]**.[490] As a consequence, the scenes of sacrifice, battle or bloodshed that we observe in some Etruscan funerary monuments are all bloody scenes in which the victims are already dead or about to die. This is symbolic of blood sacrifice and stands in line with the Etruscan belief in the revitalising effects of blood observed in earlier funerary monuments and mentioned in later sources which tell us that the Etruscans believed the souls of the deceased could achive immortality and become divine.[491] For example, if the Attic black-figure amphora (570-550 BC) said to be from Italy and showing the sacrifice of Polyxena actually comes from Etruria, it will be an interesting precedent of the Etruscan taste for bloody scenes.[492] In this picture, copious amounts of blood pour out of her neck, as if she was slaughtered as an animal; this is similar to the slaughter of the Trojan on **[Cat. 31]**. According to Camporeale, the sacrificial rite of the shedding of blood was performed in private as a tradition that probably survived in the practices of the *parentatio*. This ceremony only required the blood offering of the victim and not the examination of the the internal organs from which the haruspices drew their auguries.[493]

If Pallottino's suggestion that Etruscan tomb painting was exclusively intended for the dead, then the shedding of blood depicted on them was something desired. This assumption, nonetheless, would leave viewers out of the picture. Even

[490] Hom. *Od*. 11.23-50.
[491] Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.* 2.62; Servius, *Ad. Aen*. 3.168. See De Grummond 2006, 209; Bonfante 2012, 68-73.
[492] London, BM 1897,0727.2; *ABV* 97.27, 683.
[493] Camporeale 2009, 220-238, esp. 221.

when considering that sarcophagi were displayed during the funeral – something we cannot be certain about – the subjects on them do not seem to have been randomly chosen. As mentioned earlier, subjects like Amazonomachies or Homeric battles do not appear in tomb painting. What would viewers attending a funeral have understood from these images?

In the case of Amazonomachies, a significant observation seems to be the fact that none of the heroes that participate in Greek versions is recognisable on any of the sarcophagi. This is not the case in other media, as demonstrated by the survival of Amazonomachies with Heracles on Etruscan mirrors and vases dating between the fourth and the second centuries BC. Thus, in the case of 'funerary' Amazonomachies we are dealing with deliberately anonymous, purely Etruscan versions of the myth. This has been explained as interpreting the Etruscan depictions as a mere replication of the myth, lacking any essence. [494] But to the viewers attending a funeral this may have not been overlooked. As mentioned earlier, their frame for reading the subject was wider than in Apulia as they were exposed to images in other media, both in public buildings and on private items. Therefore, their 'expectations' would have been confronted with the funerary version of the Amazonomachy.

Other myths that offer the possibility to depict scenes of sacrifice, death and dying warriors in combat would have definitely impressed viewers entering a tomb as long as the tomb was in use. But as the viewers' expectations change over time, perhaps the latest generations to be buried in the Tomb of the Partunu, the Tomb of the Curunas, the François Tomb and the Tomb of Orcus II might have not been as impressed as the first generations were. In fact, over time, the mythological sarcophagi from the Curunas Tomb I and II, for example, were hidden from the view since other sarcophagi were placed close together around them. The fact that tragic

[494] Camporeale 1959, 110.

scenes disappear from the funerary repertoire also indicates a shift of funerary ideologies. Their disappearance on sarcophagi and tomb painting towards the end of the century goes hand in hand with the loss of mythical scenes in other items as well, such as on Etruscan and Faliscan red-figure vase painting.[495] The growing power of Rome over Etruria during this time certainly played a part in the iconographic shift observed in funerary monuments from the early third century BC onwards. However, during this selection the Etruscan winged demons of death were not excluded and they are frequently observed as gate keepers or leading funerary processions.[496]

In the fourth century BC, the representations of sacrifice and death in Etruscan funerary art were particularly chosen because they offered the opportunity to represent blood dripping from wounded bodies. This is better observed in the extant painted versions (**[Cat. 33]** and **[Cat. 35]**) than in the carved examples, where colours have faded away. The paintings in the François Tomb provide a good example of this, showing blood leaking from the wounded bodies of prisoners of war, warriors and animals.[497] Unfortunately, the paintings on **[Cat. 36]** are so deteriorated that the few traces that remain do not allow us to discuss general composition nor the motifs of the scene. The scenes on the sarcophagus from Torre San Severo **[Cat. 31]** and Actaeon's wounded thigh in the relief on the lid of **[Cat. 35]** further testify to this fondness for bloody depictions in Etruscan funerary art. The former show scenes of sacrifice on the long sides juxtaposed with scenes inspired by the *Odyssey* on the short sides, one of them being the shedding of blood before entering to the underworld. Actaeon's relief, on the other hand, has been interpreted as a theme 'unsympathetic towards the male, possibly even feminist'.[498] Yet the depiction of his

[495] Harari 2010, 98. This does not apply to Faliscan 'silvered' relief vases, which continue showing scenes derived from myth until about 250 BC. See Michetti 2003, esp. 114-124.
[496] Tarquinia, Tomb of the Anina Family (*ca*. 250 BC); Tomb of the Charuns (275-250 BC) Querciola Tomb II (250-200 BC) and Tomb 5636 (250-200 BC). See Steingräber 2006, 258-275.
[497] For the tomb, see Coarelli 1985; D'Agostino 2003; Sgubini Moretti 2004; Minder 2008.
[498] Van der Meer 2004, 36.

death on **[Cat. 35]** was not randomly chosen but takes on a very specific meaning. Actaeon was punished by Artemis, the goddess who protects the Amazons. The dripping blood coming out of his wounded legs emphasises his victimisation while, at the same time, it provides the divine force needed by the dead. This is an Etruscan variation of the myth which also places de figure in the pediment, a sacred place reserved for gods or heroes. As Warden argues, Actaeon's metamorphosis suggests an apotheosis.[499]

In Antiquity, there was a widespread belief that blood was necessary to pacify the anger of the dead and to magically protect their souls against the dangers of the transition to the underworld.[500] This probably explains the Etruscan sacrifices to the dead and the bloody 'Phersu' and other dangerous games that appear, for example, in the Tomb of the Augurs.[501] It may also explain scenes of sacrifice, such as Achilles slaughtering the Trojans in the François Tomb, on **[Cat. 33]** and on other monuments of funerary art. Therefore, it seems logical to conceive the gods of the underworld and the demons of death as the recipients of the sacrifices and the blood (real or painted) that was spilt in funerary rites and on monuments. Another possible meaning of the myths like the Amazonomachy on Etruscan sarcophagi – hitherto neglected – lies in the purpose for which these monuments were designed. This view widens the frame of interpretation of mythical scenes in funerary contexts, often explained as mirroring political events or as showing the literacy level of the Etruscan aristocracy (as in those with depictions of other Trojan and Theban myths).

It is unquestionable that Etruscan sarcophagi and tomb-painting aimed at signifying the high status of the deceased and his family. In this regard they differ from the Apulian elites, whose tombs are focused on the individual. Another Etruscan innovation is the 'portraits' of the dead who are depicted alongside Greek heroes or

[499] Warden 2009, 203.
[500] For literary references, see Krauskopf 2006, 80 n. 75.
[501] *EP* 20. See Jannot 1993, 307-309, 317-320.

epic episodes. In addition, it is interesting to note that at least for one Tarquinian family the Amazonomachy depicted on **[Cat. 33]** was a subject worthy of being readopted on **[Cat. 34]**. Although the latter is a relief, it closely follows the composition of the former sarcophagus in the depiction of the winged demons taking the corpse of the dead. This implies that the Partunu family had a concern for sharing a specific iconography, providing an example for the continuity of the subject in the same tomb. Similarly, the three mythological sarcophagi found in the Tomb of the Vipinana **[Cat. 41]**, **[Cat. 42]** and **[Cat. 43]** show that for one generation depictions of myths – and bloody scenes – were something desirable in the family's tomb.

Having argued that the visual 'horizon of expectations' of Etruscan viewers was wider than that of the Italic people and considering the semi-private nature of the monuments, which were seen only at the time of the burial, we can infer that the funerary use of myths in Etruria is heavily charged with eschatological connotations with an emphasis on blood and its importance for the cult of the dead.

5. Conclusion

Some epic subjects not previously depicted by Greek artists seem to have originated in Etruria. From the very beginning, Etruscan artists adapted Greek mythology according to their own needs and to articulate their own ideas; they did not just want to illustrate the myths that they had heard or read. Achilles' slaughter of the Trojan prisoners is a good example of this. In the François Tomb the sacrifice of the Trojans appears in a formula familiar to us from the *Iliad*. However, the depiction sometimes includes Etruscan additions, such as winged demons of death or the gods of the underworld. The fact that many of the names of the Greek heroes that appear in tomb painting are inscribed in Etruscan rather than Greek (as on Apulian vases), suggests the possibility that artists were using an oral source for their depictions. But

there is the possibility of Etruscans composing their own poems on stories derived from the Trojan and Theban Cycles, just as the Romans were to do later.

It is highly possible that the Etruscans were the first to translate the epic episode of Achilles' immolation of the Trojan prisoners into a visual language. Apparently, this particular image not only appealed to Etruscan sensibilities, but also conveyed an ideological value in the fourth century BC, when it was depicted in different media.

The translation of Greek mythological narratives into a visual imagery enabled the Etruscans to articulate different ideas not only about the world in which they lived, but also their concerns about the afterlife. Therefore, if some myths are in fact reflecting the historical circumstances that affected the Etruscans during the fourth century BC (the menace of Rome, the destruction of Thebes), this does not exclude the possibility that, at the same time, they were aimed at fulfilling particular funerary needs. This notion is strengthened when we consider the Etruscan taste for the juxtaposition of myths. The figures in the atrium of the François Tomb, for example, tell us about destiny and the inability to change the course of the inexorable fortune that the Etruscans believed in. On the other hand, scenes of sacrifice testify to the importance of the shedding of blood in funerary art, as they were essential in the cult of the dead. Furthermore, in the depictions of the monuments discussed here, there is an indirect evocation of Hades transferred into the mythological sphere. The Etruscan patrons wanted violent scenes and the tragic destiny of the famous heroes of Greek mythology to be depicted on their funerary monuments to honour their dead. In some cases, these scenes also warned survivors about the punishments suffered by those who break the rules (Sisyphos), make fun of the gods (Niobe), kill their relatives (Eteocles and Polynices, Orestes and Clytemnestra, Lycurgus and Ambrosia), or cannot change their destiny (Oedipus, Jocasta, Amphiaraus).

It is true that the end of the fourth century BC witnessed the appearance of some mythological scenes not previously depicted in Greek or Etruscan art, such as

Achilles' sacrificing the Trojans or the various examples related to different episodes of the Seven against Thebes. Undoubtedly, the ruin of Thebes by Alexander may have caused astonishment to other regions of the Mediterranean world. Nonetheless, after examining the material (at least in funerary monuments), this interpretation is difficult to accept. My reservations concern the fact that some of these scenes, particularly those with Achilles slaughtering the Trojans, appear exclusively in funerary (and not public) art, where an intended 'propagandistic' meaning for the depiction of the scene in tomb painting and sarcophagi seems difficult to maintain. However, the juxtaposition of Vel Saties with Nestor in the *atrium* of the François Tomb may have certainly invited the viewers to establish comparisons between the tomb's owner and the Greek hero in the same way that local history is contraposed with myth in the *tablinum*.[502]

The numerous Amazonomachies on Etruscan sarcophagi confirm a particular funerary use for other Greek myths as well. Firstly, the choice of the Amazonomachy theme does not seem to be related to the gender of the deceased. Secondly, while in Greek representations of the subject Heracles and Theseus are often the victorious protagonists of the battle, on the Etruscan sarcophagi the main hero is never depicted. Amazons are often represented as victorious or close to defeating their male opponents. Therefore, the theme was apparently selected because of the admiration felt for the deeds of these mythical women. Further, it seems to be something exciting about gender – that is, exotic women being dangerous – while the numerous combat scenes allow the artist to depict blood and the viewers to see it. This also includes the possibility that blood was depicted on the relief versions, even when their colours have faded away. Even if the paintings on **[Cat. 35]** might be of Tarentine manufacture and not Etruscan, they were aimed at decorating an Etruscan sarcophagus, for an Etruscan tomb. Therefore, this is not an impediment to

[502] See Rathje 2014, 55-65.

considering the funerary meaning of the Amazonomachy depicted on it. The Amazonomachy on **[Cat. 34]** remains modest in comparison to **[Cat. 35]**, but it is exceptional in highlighting local preferences. It also provides an example of the Etruscan Amazonomachy that adds winged demons to the battle, a variation that has no parallels outside Etruria.

The myths depicted on the funerary monuments analysed here show us that new models were continuously testing the viewers' expectations in the second half of the fourth century BC. The sarcophagi also show us that the style was closer to Greek models in Tarquinia than it was in Tuscania and Vulci, but otherwise they demonstrate a strong local style. Differences are also appreciated on the technical level where we see a more sophisticated composition on painted sarcophagi than on the relief examples. Tomb painting, by contrast, shows slightly stylistic variations and is definitely closer to Greek models.

In spite of a deeply rooted iconographic presence in Etruria, variations and adaptations of some Greek myths may be explained by the absence of an indigenous tradition for them. Once placed in Etruria, Greek heroic stories were deprived of their Greek cultural and historical tradition. The tomb paintings and sarcophagi analysed here are only one kind among the many contexts where myths were displayed in Etruria. However, the funerary context of these images is important because it sheds light on the way the Etruscans used particular myths and how significant they were to their funerary rites.

This chapter has provided an alternative view of the funerary uses of these mythological images and has shown that these pictures were mainly intended for the dead, but were also appreciated by the living. After the funerary rituals and honours were paid to the deceased, the mourners retired and the tomb was sealed. In the deep darkness and the silence accompanying the dead, such imagery played an on-going role in honouring them even when their relatives where no longer able to do so.

Chapter IV

Other Funerary Uses of Greek Myth (Outside Italy)

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1. Introduction

Having discussed the funerary contexts of Greek mythology in Apulia and Etruria in the previous chapters is now necessary to enquire into how far these myths were used in other regions, and how they were implemented. It is not the aim of this chapter to give an extensive review of all the funerary monuments that bear mythological depictions outside Italy. Some of them, such as the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos, are so well known that there is no need to reproduce their archaeological records in detail. Instead, the aim of this chapter is to survey regions that present material comparable to the corpora collected for Italy (i.e., vases, tomb painting and sarcophagi), and to discuss similarities and differences that appear in the treatment of heroic stories.

The funerary monuments presented in this chapter come from several cultural regions that display tomb traditions similar to but still distinct from the ones we have seen in Italy.. In the fourth century BC, the regions of Lycia and Caria were under Persian rule. Nonetheless, dynasts and rulers retained the freedom to build original funerary monuments sometimes on a lavish scale, such as the *Heroon* at Trysa or the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos, which were decorated with Greek mythological narratives alongside local subjects. Dynasts under the rule of the Macedonian kingdom, on the other hand, used Greek myths to decorate their tombs by means of different media, namely wall painting and on large metal vessels. Further, isolated examples occur in the

Black Sea region, where a limestone relief from the Taman area in Russia, probably funerary, shows an Amazonomachy. The same subject appears on a sarcophagus of uncertain provenance, while a Centauromachy appears on a sarcophagus from Sidon, showing that Greek heroic stories were chosen for funerary monuments at the other fringe of the Greek world as well.

In analysing these types of funerary monuments some questions arise. For example, where do they appear and in what form and frequency? Who were these types of monuments built for? What is the resonance of Greek myths as an iconographic choice on funerary monuments?

These questions will be answered by first identifying the types of preserved funerary monuments (Section 2). Then, Section 3 will analyse them by region in order to see whether we can detect preferences for specific heroic stories and modes of display. The discussion in Section 4 will address two issues; firstly, the significance of the forms of the representations for their interpretation (for example, sarcophagi versus reliefs and tomb painting); secondly, the extent to which this phenomenon was indeed similar in Italy and other places in the Mediterranean. Finally, Section 5 will summarise the discussion and provide the chapter's conclusions.

2. Funerary monuments

Outside Italy, Greek heroic stories appear in the tomb context of different cultures in a variety of media. Tomb paintings and carved sarcophagi with mythological depictions are not exclusive to Etruria, but they are also found in Anatolia (Fig. 179). For example, the so-called Polyxena Sarcophagus (*ca*. 520-500 BC) shares the same subject with the Etruscan sarcophagus from Torre San Severo **[Cat. 31]**; both monuments feature reliefs of the sacrifice of Polyxena by Neoptolemos on one of their long sides. The former was found together with a small undecorated sarcophagus in a tumulus at Gümüşçay, near

the town of Biga in north-western Turkey.[503] It is carved on all four sides and features scenes of ritual that have been interpreted as funerary in nature, with an emphasis on female participants despite the fact that its occupant was a middle aged man.[504] The long side depicting the scene of the sacrifice is arranged to the left of a tumulus tomb topped by an orb, while a tripod stands in front of it (Fig. 180). Four men hold the body of Polyxena; the man closest to the tomb grabs her by the hair while taking a knife to her neck (Fig. 181). That Achilles witnesses the scene is implied by the depiction of his tumulus, something made more explicit in the Etruscan version where his 'ghost' is shown (as indicated by the bandages) at the other side of the altar at which Polyxena is about to be sacrificed.

2.1. Tomb Painting

Leaving Etruscan parallels aside, the Polyxena sarcophagus finds some iconographical similarities among contemporary tomb painting. Although its origins are unclear, we have some earlier examples such as the tomb paintings of a tomb found in Lycia, at Kyzibel, near Elmali. It features mythological episodes derived from the Greek iconographic tradition juxtaposed with sealing and hunting scenes. On the west wall a scene depicting the departure of armed warriors probably shows the departure of Amphiaraos (Fig. 182). Dated to the last quarter of the sixth century BC, the Elmali paintings dramatically attest to Greek cultural influence in a small Lycian dynastic court.[505] Therefore, both the Polyxena sarcophagus and the tomb paintings at Elmali are a scant but still valid precedent for the practice of selecting Greek heroic stories for the decoration of funerary monuments in the region.

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[503] For the discovery; see Sevinç 1996, 251-255, figs. 4-6.

[504] Sevinç 1996, 260-262; Brugess 2009, 114. For an interpretation of the sarcophagus as the burial of a woman, see Reinsberg 2004, 199-217. Boardman (2007, 229), however, suggests that the most important figure on the sarcophagus is the dead Achilles, to whom the owner of the sarcophagus wanted to be paralleled.

[505] Mellink and Lawrence Angel 1970, 272, figs. 25, 27-30; Mellink 1983, 171-174; Briant 2002, 84. Paintings cover the wall entirely with multiple friezes, different from Etruscan tomb painting. Nevertheless, similarities have been spotted such as the East Greek profiles in the tomb at Elmali and in the tomb of the Haunting and Fishing at Tarquinia. See Mellink and Lawrence Angel 1970, 273.

As we have seen in Chapter III, both tomb painting and sarcophagi were the preferred media for the depictions of Greek mythological images in Etruscan funerary art. Yet in Apulia, where vase painting and to a lesser extent relief fragments from *naiskoi* narrating episodes of Greek myth predominate, they do not appear on sarcophagi and only very occasionally in tomb painting **[Cat. 30]**. This does not seem to be the case for northern Greece, where tomb paintings seem to have decorated the tombs of dynasts and other people closely connected to the Macedonian rulers. Among the mythological subjects depicted in fourth-century BC tombs, we find the Rape of Persephone by Hades at Vergina, while a Centauromachy appears on the painted metopes of the façade of the Tomb of Judgment at Lefkadia (Naousa).

2.2. Sarcophagi

In Italy the use of sarcophagi with Greek mythological depictions was an Etruscan practice. Outside this geographic zone, sarcophagi found in the royal necropolis of Sidon have revealed the existence of highly refined workshops on the other side of the Mediterranean. Greek mythological images were not a favoured theme; when they appear, they are reduced to the short sides of the sarcophagi. This is the case of the so-called Lycian Sarcophagus, which bears depictions of Centaurs confined to the short sides.[506] However, the most exquisite example of Greek myth carved on a sarcophagus is provided by the Amazon Sarcophagus in Vienna, carved on all four sides with scenes of an Amazonomachy.

It has been a few times suggested that decorated stone sarcophagi derived from wooden versions imitating wooden chests.[507] If this is correct, painted wooden sarcophagi become a possible forerunner for painted – and ultimately carved – stone

[506] Schmidt-Dounas 1985; Boardman 1995, 215, figs. 226.1-2.

[507] Boardman 1995, 118. Weber-Lehmann (2007) discusses the evidence of wooden sarcophagi in Etruscan tombs. She found that regular cavities (from 4 to 9) were cut into the floor of some tomb chambers before burial (e.g. Tomb of the Ship, Tomb of the Panthers, Tomb of the Pigmei).

sarcophagi, as seen on examples from Kerch and Alexandria.[508] That the few extant examples in wood do not show narrative scenes in the sense of Etruscan or Phoenician sarcophagi does not prevent us from speculating that more numerous versions of painted mythological narratives were made in this perishable material at either side of the Mediterranean basin.[509] However, the subject-matter and figure composition of the scenes that decorated this type of monuments remain unknown to us.

2.3. Reliefs

Due to the scale on which they were built, reliefs are perhaps the most impressive media through which Greek myths were depicted in funerary monuments outside Italy. Apart from a few fragments from *naiskoi* reliefs found at Taranto and in other parts of Apulia, there is no evidence of such a practice in funerary monuments in fourth-century BC Italy.[510] Renowned are the friezes that once decorated the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos and the *heroon* at Trysa. For other monuments intended as *heroa*, such as that of the Nereids at Xanthos, craftsmen made an implicit use of Greek myth by using specific iconographic ideas derived from heroes as models on which to base their characters. Concerning this, one point needs to be mentioned in connection to contemporary Attic funerary art.

Although the practice of decorating their graves with mythological narratives was not popular among the Greeks, it has been observed that sometimes heroic prototypes are used on stelai, such as those of Heracles.[511] There is, however, a unique case from Attica in which a tomb in the form of a podium features an Amazonomachy frieze. The monument is crowned by an Ionic *naiskos* sheltering statues of its occupants, Nikeratos and his son Polyxenos, from Istros. Boardman states that a monument of this kind may

[508] For the wooden sarcophagi from Kerch, see Sokolskii's 1969.

[509] Some wooden sarcophagi from Kerch have plaster-casts appliqués (Zhizhina 2001, 249-263), or bear gilded reliefs.

[510] Carter 1975; Smith 1991, 183; Boardman 1995, 163, fig. 178.

[511] For example, in the grave relief of the youth Philistides (Clairmont 1993, no. 2.449a) and on another relief with a naked hunter (Clairmont 1993, no. 1.935). Further discussion in Himmelman 2000, 136-144, figs. 4-5. For a few exceptional Attic funerary monuments with depictions of the afterlife, see Scholl 2010, 71-96, figs. 3.1 (pediment in Zurich, Arch. Sammlung der Universität 2135) and 3.13-14 (pediment in Berlin, Antikensammlung Sk 1627).

have been tolerated as a private memorial on the grounds that it was placed far from the city cemeteries.[512] Another slab in the National Museum sometimes attributed to the Kallithea Monument, features an Amazonomachy,[513] while a further example composed of eight frieze fragments from the Kerameikos probably represented the same subject.[514] Also from Kallithea comes a triangular base of a marble funerary vase showing the garden of the Hesperides flanked by the owner of the grave and Hermes *Psychopompos*.[515] The marble lekythos of Myrrhine further testifies to other depictions of this type in other funerary monuments from Attica.[516] Marble lekythoi eventually replaced the white-ground lekythoi at the end of the fifth century BC. The images depicted on them were strictly related to their function, namely the ritual worship of the dead. It has been suggested that their conversion into marble during the Peloponnesian War (431-404 BC) was intended to preserve their function permanently.[517]

In spite of the examples from Attica just mentioned, the extant evidence suggests that decorating funerary monuments with mythical figures was not a popular practice among the Greeks. Aristocrats, rulers and dynasts at the fringes of the Greek world, however, found in this practice a means to display status, bravery and ancestral connections with legendary heroes. This practice reinforced not only their identity, but also that of their people.

3. Regional case studies

This section examines the monuments previously mentioned from a regional perspective. Starting with the easternmost case studies and passing through

[512] Boardman 1995, 117-118. The Kallithea Monument has not been perfectly published yet, but some accounts are found in Tsirivakos 1972, 147. See also B. S. Ridgway 1990, 31-32 with further references in p. 64, n. 15.
[513] Athens, NM 3614; see Schieiring 1975, 132-133, fig. 6; *LIMC*, Amazones, no. 429; Ridgway 1990, 32.
[514] See Knigge 1984, 217-234; B. S. Ridgway 1990, 32.
[515] Scholl 2010, 91, figs. 3.21-23.
[516] Athens, NM 4485.
[517] Scholl 2010, 94-96.

Sidon/Cyprus and Anatolia it will be shown that these regions present a predilection for stone reliefs in the form of architectural friezes or on sarcophagi. In this view, the case of northern Greece where depictions of myth appear predominantly in tomb painting will be discussed at the end.

3.1. The Black Sea

Depictions of Greek myth have been found in funerary monuments as far as the eastern Crimea and the Taman Peninsula, known in ancient times as the Bosporan Kingdom (Fig. 183). Greek colonies settled in the northern Pontic region in the seventh- and sixth centuries BC, establishing the cities of Pantikapaion (modern Kerch) and Phanagoria the most prominent in the area. Burials mounds (*kurgans*) across the region contained large numbers of Greco-Sarmatian objects in metalwork, Attic imported pottery and sometimes wooden sarcophagi, among other finds.[518]

a) The Bosporan Kurgans. That Attic pottery is usually found in these tombs is not surprising. Yet there is a popular hypothesis that throughout the fourth century BC, Athenian workshops produced special types of vases (pelikai) decorated with specific subjects, such as Amazons or griffins exclusively made for export to Kerch. These subjects were popular among the inhabitants of this city, it has been argued. However, the presence of pelikai with the same subjects has been also found in places like Athens, Italy and in Spain.[519] This shows that the production of the so-called Bosporan pelikai is not a closed category and that their manufacture was intended to hint at different markets. Therefore, this particular shape with that specific imagery was not exclusively for costumers in Kerch. A recent study has shown not only the reasons for the construction of this idea (Yuz-Oba kurgans do not contain pelikai with depictions of

[518] Most of these objects are displayed today in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg. For a catalogue of the different burial mounds (kurgans) and their finds, see Trofimova 2007. See Boardman *et al*. (2001) for a collection of papers on northern Pontic antiquities.
[519] Petrakova 2012, n. 10.

Amazons, for example), but also explores ideas about cultural interchange and problems of interpretation of Attic vases in the Bosporan context.[520]

Fourth-century BC tomb groups from the Yuz-Oba mound show a more personal reception of Attic pottery by inhabitants of the area than previously thought. For example, there is evidence that the vases were in use before being deposited in the tomb together with luxurious and other expensive items. Yet, considering that clay is not an expensive material the value of the vases must have resided in the pictures on them. This indicates that the buyers paid special attention to the painting as they picked their vases. In the mound of kurgan V, chamber tomb 48, three finds of Attic vases are documented, apparently broken during the burial ceremony (Fig. 184).[521] These three vases were apparently in use for some decades before they were broken above the crypt. Despite being the work of two different vase painters on three different shapes, they were all decorated with the same mythological figures at different moments of their story. They show the judgment of Paris, the abduction of Helen, and Paris and Helen as a couple. The presence of these vases in the same grave combined with the absence of vases with depictions of this myth in other graves of Kerch should be interpreted as evidence of a special interest in a specific theme on the part of the buyer.[522]

The interest for a particular mythological subject or figure is further exemplified by another tomb group from the Yuz-Oba kurgans. Here, the Pavloskiy kurgan provides an example of careful attention to subject-matter. Among its finds, there is a ring featuring a dancing Amazon, while a lekythos in the shape of a dancing Amazon was also found (Fig. 186).[523] In addition, the depiction of an Amazon on horseback engaged in combat decorated the dress of the buried woman (Fig. 185).[524] The elements of the

[520] Petrakova 2012, 151-152.

[521] St. Petersburg, Hermitage: krater (Yu-O.28) attributed to the Kadmos Painter (360-350 BC); lekythos (Yu-O.27) and a hydria (Yu-O.26), both attributed to the Helena Painter (380-350 BC).

[522] The subject of the Judgement of Paris, nonetheless, also appears in the engraved ivories of Kul Oba (Hermitage, K-O 116). See following page.

[523] St. Petersburg, Hermitage, Pav. 10. However, the pelike from the Pavlovskiy kurgan does not have depictions of Amazons.

[524] St. Petersburg, Hermitage, Pav. 14.

Amazons' iconography are the same in all three cases: leather boots, a Phrygian cap and a short belted dress. The most striking fact is the similarity of the dress of the Amazon on the lekythos to that of the one depicted on the dress: in both cases, it is a green dress with a broad border at the lower part. The buried woman wore leather boots, which are comparable with the boots depicted on the objects deposited in her tomb. These similarities between depictions on different objects are indications of the existence of a defined iconography of Amazons in the fourth century BC. This not only concerns dress and pose, but also some details like the green colour. The Pavlovskiy kurgan is the only one among all the Yuz-Oba kurgans where the subject of the Amazons is present, which corroborates the idea of personal choice in the same way of the three vases from kurgan V, chamber tomb 48.

In fact, the myth of Paris and Helen depicted on the vases of this chamber tomb is not unique to this burial. Some carved ivory fragments showing the subject of the judgement of Paris and the rape of the Leucippidai were found in the Kul-Oba burial mound (Figs. 187-189). Judging by their size, they probably decorated a wooden sarcophagus or a large coffin.[525] In fact, a few extant wooden sarcophagi from the Kerch region have come to us but they bear no figured decoration, notably the one from Yuz Oba, kurgan V, chamber tomb 48 (Fig. 190).[526] An interesting aspect about the ivories is the depiction of Athena, who has removed her helmet and holds it in her left hand so Paris can see her face better. Whether these carvings decorated the coffin or the lid of the sarcophagus is difficult to say. But the gilded wooden reliefs found in the Zmeiny burial mound near Kerch showing Apollo and Hera give us an idea of other decorated versions that are lost to us (Fig. 192). They are said to have decorated the metopes of the lateral walls of a wooden sarcophagus, the fragments of which can be seen today in the Hermitage (Fig. 191). Therefore, in spite of their fragmentary state, these examples

[525] St. Petersburg, Hermitage, K-O 116; H 21.5 cm. See Artamonov 1969, figs. 257-252; *LIMC*, Aphrodite, no. 1419.

[526] St. Peresburg, Hermitage YU-O 16. Note the three vases previously discussed come from the same tomb.

testify to the practice of decorating sarcophagi with mythological narratives, similar to the Etruscan mythological sarcophagi.

b) The Taman Relief. Turning to what it seems to have been a preferred subject in the northern Pontic region, the Amazonomachy, a fragmentary slab showing a fight between long-haired Scythians and longer-haired Amazons wearing long tunics was found in the Taman area of Russia in 1985.[527] The fact that the relief was found together with two imported Attic stelai of the late fourth century BC has led to the assumption that it is a funerary relief, and thereby it was dated accordingly.[528] The unparalleled style and iconography of this relief, however, increase the difficulty of a chronological assessment. For example, the relatively low relief manages to show at least three different surface levels showing battle scenes (Fig. 193). In the foreground, a mounted Scythian prepares to deliver a blow to an Amazon. The sceptre and the trophies (in the form of decapitated heads hanging upside down) serve to show that in front of us are the leader (queen) of the Amazons and the leader of the Scythians. As we have seen many times in this study, the 'hair-pulling' motif testifies to the popularity of the capture/killing of an enemy in Classical iconography and this applies to the Taman relief as well. The scene in the middle ground shows a mounted Scythian slaying a mounted Amazon, whereas the background (only the fragments of two figures are preserved) shows an Amazon in the right corner with a quiver, while to the left there is a Scythian (the hem of his long tunic is visible). A sword is falling from his right hand, while the Amazon appears to be attacking him with a spear. It is possible that another Scythian was fighting the Amazon from behind, as the reconstructions shows (Fig. 194).

[527] Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts F-1570. For the discovery of the relief with previous bibliography, see Savostina 2001, 49-57. It has been suggested that only young men are represented, perhaps illustrating the Bosporan civil war between the Scythian (allies of Satyros) and the Sarmatians (allies of Eumelos) at the end of the fourth century BC. Other authors gathered in *Boras* (issue 52, in Russian) argue that only male Scythians armed with *akinaks* are in the relief. See comments and rejections to these interpretations in Olkhovsky (2001, 171-175), who makes an anthropological and ethnographic analysis of the figures on the relief, confirming that the stele shows Amazons fighting male barbarians (Scythians).

[528] Savostina 2001, 56; Bouzek 2007, 12.

In accordance with the majority of mythological accounts of Amazons, victory is clearly on the side of the men. But as we have seen, they sometimes appear as victorious on Etruscan sarcophagi. On Bosporan pelikai, Amazons are not only often shown attacking their opponents, but they are also more often the victors.[529] The Taman relief, however, shows that the triumph is on the part of their opponents. The excavator connected the fight in the relief with an account in Herodotus, of how the Sauromatae came to fight the Amazons, who had obtained possession of some horses after freeing themselves from Athenian ships on Lake Maeotis.[530] Apparently, the Scythians did not realize that they were fighting women until they examined their corpses. The sculptor certainly followed this story, perhaps because it was popular among the locals. It shows that the young warriors (either Scythians or barbarians in general) truly had every reason for not recognizing that the mounted warriors were female (Amazons) as they had the same long hair and wore the same long tunics.[531] Hence, they fought against the Amazons as they would have done with any equal.

The use of different weapons to distinguish between various ethnic groups was a well-known device of Greek art. In the case of depictions of Amazons in Greek and Roman art, the spear was considered the most popular weapon. Bows appear slightly less, while they are depicted even less often with axes and very rarely with swords.[532] The sculptor of the Taman relief was well acquainted with the folklore and the material culture of the local population of the region. Both parties wear long tunics (kaftans) and plain belts; they have long hair and ride horses. The Scythians are differentiated by their forehead bands, their swords and trophies (the severed heads); Amazons, by contrast, are armed with quivers and spears.[533]

A comparison with depictions of the Amazonomachy in Bosporan pelikai may be useful here. While the early Bosporan pelikai painters of the late fifth and first half of the

[529] Tugusheva 2001, 240.
[530] Hdt. 4.110-111.
[531] '…taking them [the Amazons] to be men' (Hdt. 4. 111).
[532] *LIMC*, Amazones; Bothmer 1981.
[533] Olkhovsky 2001, 175-176.

fourth century BC are known to have prefered frieze compositions with only occasional overlapping figures, paintings of the second half of the fourth century present complex compositions with figures arranged across three or four spatial layers.[534] From the mid-fourth century BC onwards there is a clear trend in compositions which expand and start to fill not only the shoulders, but even the neck of a vase. The same vertical movement is also observed on the Taman relief. Therefore, the sculptor of the Taman relief may have introduced quotations of contemporary vase painting in the composition of the relief, which may also explain its multi-layered composition (not observed in other contemporary monuments).[535]

Finally, it has been stated that the Taman relief was probably funerary. However, its form and subject-matter finds no parallels with Scythian funerary sculpture from this period.[536] Probably, the soundest assumption is that this relief was intended for some sort of *heroon*, of which architectural fragments were also found (Fig. 195).[537] In this way, the Scythian Amazonomachy on the relief could be associated with the idea of conquering/defending a particular territory and the involvement of the local population in the process.

The mythological subjects that appear on the funerary monuments of Kerch and its surroundings show that the selections of themes was influenced by heroic stories connected with the North Pontic region and its inhabitants, among whom Amazons occupied a central place. The next section takes us to the eastern Mediterranean, where similar subjects appear on Phoenician stone sarcophagi.

3.2. Sidon and Cyprus

Marble relief sarcophagi were adopted in Sidon later in the fifth century BC (Fig. 196). Among the coffins found in the chamber tombs of the Royal Necropolis, only four show

[534] For example, on the pelikai by the Amazon Painter (Hermitage B. 2230; *ARV*[2] 1478, 6), whose compositional elements bring out the central group in the battle scene with other figures arranged in several space zones, often overlapping each other. See Tuguscheva 2001, 234-239, figs. 7-8.
[535] Tuguscheva 2001, 241.
[536] *Boreas* 59, 60 (quoted in Olkhovsky 2001).
[537] Olkhovsky 2001, 177; Bouzek 2007, 12.

figured decoration in the Greek style (Fig. 197). They commonly have architectural features, and are shaped in the form of small buildings or monumental chests.[538] Among this type of funerary monuments, the so-called Alexander Sarcophagus (with a historical iconography) and that of the Mourning Women stand out as the most refined examples.[539] Sidonian sarcophagi are carved in pure Greek style, but their patrons and context are Phoenician. Subjects reproduce the occupant's activities in life, such as hunting, sympotic scenes, chariot scenes, cavalry races and battle, much in the same spirit of the scenes reproduced in the Lycian funerary monuments discussed below.

a) The 'Lycian' Sarcophagus. Among the Sidonian sarcophagi the so-called Lycian Sarcophagus is discussed here in more length since it is the only one of the series that bears mythological figures (Fig. 198). Although its chronology is still problematic, it is usually dated in the early fourth century BC (*ca*. 380 BC), after the Satrap Sarcophagus (*ca*. 420 BC), the first of the series.[540] The lid has a conical shape and bears depictions of griffins and sphinxes on the sides. The coffin is decorated on all four sides; crowded hunt scenes on quadrigae are depicted on the long sides, while the short sides are decorated with Centauromachies. One of the short sides shows two Centaurs fighting each other on a rocky ground, while the other short side has two centaurs beating Kaineus into the ground. The former scene, however, makes no sense in terms of mythological narrative. Perhaps the artist sacrificed the subject matter to keep mirroring images on both short sides of the coffin. In fact, they recall the composition of the

[538] Boardman 1995, 215.

[539] Istambul, Archaeological Museum 370 and 368 respectively. The occupant of the Alexander Sarcophagus (320-300 BC) was probably the Sidonian ruler Abdalonymos. See monograph by Von Graeve 1970; also Smith 1991, 190-192, figs. 226.1-2; B. S. Ridgway 1990 [2001], 37, 40-45, pl. 10-16. For the Mourners' Sarcophagus (*ca*. 360 BC), see monograph by Fleischer 1998; Boardman 1995, 215, fig. 227; Ridgway 1997, 174-175, pl. 47a-b.

[540] Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 369, H. 2.96 m. See monograph by Schmidt-Dounas 1985. For the chronology, see Ferron (1993) and discussion in B. S. Ridgway 1997, 175-176, n. 59.

Centauromachy on the Parthenon metopes, while the Kaineus' scene finds sculptural parallels in a variety of public monuments, including the *heroon* at Trysa.[541]

(b) The Amazon Sarcophagus. This sarcophagus, now in Vienna, deserves special attention because is relevant to our study (Figs. 199-201).[542] Diverse versions of its origins are known; it may have come from Cyprus or from Rhodes, or, less likely, from Sparta.[543] But many arguments favour the attribution of this sarcophagus to the series of Phoenician royal tombs. Among these are the rich necropolis at Soloi in Cyprus, apparently the place of its discovery; the close links of style and composition between this sarcophagus and that of 'Alexander's' mentioned above; and the thematic unity between the two monuments, as it has been suggested that the Amazonomachy on this sarcophagus may represent the combat between the Persians and the soldiers of Alexander.[544]

Although the lid is missing, the four sides of the coffin bear depictions of an Amazonomachy.[545] An unusual feature of it is the fact that its two long and short sides replicate each other, despite minor variations in the costume and position of the figures. This feature is unique to this sarcophagus and finds no parallel in other monuments, not even in Etruria from where there are eight sarcophagi showing the same subject (among them, two freature the Amazonomachy on all four sides).[546]

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[541] For example, on the friezes from the Hephasteion, the Temple of Apollo at Bassae and the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion.

[542] See Ferron 1993; also monograph by Fleischer (1998) with discussion on chronology on pages 36 and 51.

[543] Ferron 1993, 319-322; Fleischer 1998, 7-9. In *LIMC*, Amazones, no. 435, the monument is said to be from Cyprus (?) and is attributed to the school of Lysippus at the end of the fourth century BC. See also Stewart 1977, 124; B. S. Ridgway 1990 [2001], 45-46.

[544] Ferron 1993, 324 *contra* Fleischer 1998, 51. The latter author does not agree with this interpretation.

[545] Ferron 1993, 327. For a discussion on the sarcophagus' subject-matter, see Fleischer 1998, 47-49.

[546] *Cf*. Chapter III. Altmann 1902, 17-18, however, suggested a parallel with the relief of the Muses in Sienna. For a detailed comparison of the long and short sides, see Ferron 1993, 327-328; Fleischer 1998, 12-19.

Stylistic differences between the sides indicate the work of different artists.[547] The long sides show three duels separated by the corpses of fallen Amazons (Figs. 199-200). From left to right, the first duel is composed of a Greek fighting a mounted Amazon; next, there is the dead body of an Amazon lying on the ground on its right side (note her eyes are closed), followed by the central group composed of three figures; a 'helper group' showing a Greek and a fallen companion, who protects himself from a fighting Amazon. Another fallen Amazon in a twisted position separates the central group from the last one, composed of a mounted Amazon and a Greek who seems to be pulling her off the horse by grabbing her hair. The sword in his hand, however, makes this rendering impractical. The short sides are composed of an Amazon to the left and a male warrior to the right (Fig. 201). The Greeks fight naked, but wear a short mantle and helmets. The Amazons, by contrast, are dressed in the oriental manner with trousers and sleeves, and wear Phrygian caps.

Chronologically, the Amazon Sarcophagus should be definitely later than the Mausoleum's frieze, whose Amazons and warriors are echoed by the figures on the coffin. Rounded heads and deep-set eyes are in keeping with a date still within the late fourth century BC, as it has been noted.[548] Its particular subject-matter suggests it was made for a specific customer, but it is difficult to recognize the owner in any of the scenes. In any case, it would be unreasonable to expect the occupant to be portrayed as a participant in an Amazonomachy. Nor it is reasonable to suppose that the owner of the sarcophagus was a woman, since we have already seen that this was not always the case in Etruscan sarcophagi featuring the same subject. In this sarcophagus, Amazons are shown losing the battle, while their male opponents are merely wounded. In spite of the different style and composition between this sarcophagus and the Etruscan versions, they share the fact that no main hero is represented.

[547] Fleischer (1998, 40) distinguishes the hands of two sculptors: 'Meister A', who made the long side A and short side C and 'Meister B', who made the long side B and short side D.
[548] B. S. Ridgway 1990 [2001], 45.

3.3. Anatolia

The Anatolian peninsula has been a crossroads of cultural interaction from early Antiquity. By the sixth century BC, it was occupied by several different cultures that were linguistically and archaeologically distinct: Greek speakers on the western coast in Ionia, Aeolis and Mysia, and in cities along the Black-Sea coast; Carians and Lycians in the southwest; Lydians in the Hermos River valley; and Phrygians on the central part of the peninsula, to name only the major cultural groups (Fig. 179).

Depictions of Greek myth appear in different Anatolian regions, notably in Lycia and Caria. In the native kingdoms and in places under the Persian rule, Greek sculptors were employed mainly for the decoration of funerary sculpture that decorated stone sarcophagi and *heroa*. The subject-matter of these monuments is usually non-mythological (hunt, banqueting, battle), but sometimes they appear juxtaposed to scenes derived from Greek myth. We have already mentioned the earliest stone sarcophagus with mythological reliefs found in Asia Minor, the so-called Polyxena Sarcophagus (520-500 BC). But its closest iconographic parallels are to be found in the fifth- and fourth-century BC tombs of Lycia.

Lycia is the home of the Chimaera, killed by Bellerophon on his winged horse Pegasus. In Classical times it was the home of the Lykioi, the name the Greeks gave to an indigenous people of south west Anatolia. They appear in Homer's *Iliad* as allies of the Trojans, led by the heroes Sarpedon and his cousin Glaukos.[549] By the fourth century BC, Lycia was already part of the Persian Kingdom and it was divided into a number of independent city-states ruled by satraps. The most powerful of them was Xanthos, settled near the river of the same name.

At Xanthos, Lycian tombs may be divided into four categories and are found in different parts of the city (Fig. 202): the tall pillar tombs (Inscribed Pillar, Lion and Harpy tombs), each with a sculptured burial chamber supported on a high monolith, standing on a stepped base; the so-called house tombs, which were probably the result of a

[549] Hom. *Il*. 2.876-7.

translation into stone of a construction in wood (buildings F, G and H on the acropolis); the rock-cut tombs with architectural façades imitating wooden architecture; the so-called sarcophagus tombs with gothic-arched gables (Merehi and Payava Tombs).[550] None of these tombs bear Greek mythological narratives, but in some cases fantastic figures appear in the form of sphinxes (Building H, Payava Tomb), satyrs (Building G) or harpies (Harpy Tomb). Alongside these tombs stood a different one, namely the Nereid Monument built in the form of a small temple.

(a) The Nereid Monument. This funerary building was erected around 390-370 BC probably for the Xanthian dynast Erbinna.[551] In spite of the absence of explicit mythological depictions of Greek heroes, in the podium frieze he associates himself with heroes in battle, including Achilles, Hektor and Heracles (Fig. 204).[552] In addition, in one of the pediments Erbinna is enthroned in the manner of Zeus' depictions that are seen in Olympia and on the Parthenon frieze. In the other pediment, he is shown riding into battle like a Greek hero. By choosing this specific iconography he wanted to compare himself with the great heroes of Greece (Fig. 203). But Erbinna also looked to the east for his representation as seen in scenes of daily life at court (east pediment and podium upper frieze), hunting (architrave frieze), banqueting (north *cella* frieze) and sacrifice (west *cella* frieze).[553] In other words, he undoubtedly was a self-propagandist who borrowed elements of Greek and Persian imagery to impress his contemporaries.[554]

Erbinna was of Lycian royal descent, but a statue base from the sanctuary of Leto (inscribed in Lycian and Greek) suggests that he had to fight his way to the throne,

[550] Childs 1981, 71; T. Robinson 1999, 364; Jenkins, 2006, 154 (390-380 BC).
[551] Jenkins 2006, 154. T. Robinson (1999) argues that the monument does not represent Nereids, but Lycian water nymphs (*Eliyãna*).
[552] *FdX* 9, 160; *FdX* 8, 404; T. Robinson 1999, 371; Jenkins 2006, 35.
[553] See Boardman 1995, figs. 218.6, 218.8-11; Jenkins 2006, figs. 186, 189-190.
[554] Hornblower 1982, 120.

assaulting his own capital of Xanthos.[555] Scenes of city siege and battle are also represented in the lesser podium frieze of the Nereid Monument to emphasise his military achievements.[556] Whereas previous rulers at Xanthos had chosen the traditional pillar tomb to be buried, he chose a temple-like building to display his life, his deeds and ultimately his final resting place. In doing this he was probably emulating the hero shrine of the legendary hero Sarpedon, which must have stood on the Acropolis at Xanthos, sometimes identified with Building G.[557] Certainly, the battle depicted on the greater podium frieze of the Nereid Monument is heroic-looking, thus suggesting that Erbinna wanted to be seen as a modern-day Homeric hero. Furthermore, the strategic placement of his tomb close to the city gates was envisioned as a symbol of Xanthian power at a time when the city's supremacy was being confronted by the rulers of other cities, including Perikles of Limyra.[558] In fact, this dynast had a pillar-temple tomb in the shape of an Ionic temple with Caryatids in place of columns at each end (Fig. 205).[559] In spite of being smaller than the Nereid Monument, this building also carried large akroterial groups, one of them showing Perseus holding the Gorgon's head (Fig. 206). This presence of Greek mythological subjects was relatively new in Lycian sculpture at that time, though it had appeared in tomb painting earlier.[560] The number of episodes derived from Greek mythology is significant on the next monument to be discussed.

(b)The *Heroon* at Trysa. The temenos wall of the *heroon*, now in Vienna, was excavated in 1890 (Fig. 207). In spite of the heavy weathering, it is still possible to identify both local themes (hunt scenes, city siege, seashore battle and banquet) together with

[555] One mentions a bronze statue set up to Artemis by Erbinna and refers to his conquest of Xanthos, Telmessos and Pinara. The other refers to Erbinna's building of a temple of Leto and bears an elegy composed by Symmachos of Pellana. It records the deeds of Erbinna (Arbinas in Greek) and refers to the erection of a statue dedicated to Leto (2 wolves, lykoi, led the goddess Leto to her refuge by the river Xanthos, after she had given birth to the divine twins Apollo and Artemis). For the inscriptions, see Bousquet 1975, 138-148; Bryce 1986, 94-96; *FdX* 9, 149 ff.
[556] T. Robinson 1999, 371; Jenkins 2006, figs. 186-188.
[557] Jenkins 2006, 158, 169-171, fig. 160.
[558] Keen 1998, 148-170.
[559] Borchhardt 1976; Danner 1989, no. 149; Jenkins 2006, 158, fig. 149.
[560] Boardman 1980, 106-7.

depictions of Greek mythology. Based on the stylistic treatment – in particular of the drapery – the Heroon at Trysa has been dated near 370 BC, after the Nereid Monument at Xanthos.[561] The hero-shrine character of the tomb at Trysa, with its sculptural programme, has led scholars to suggest that this *heroon* could have been inspired by an earlier, decorated *heroon*, the Theseion in Athens, although no remains of it have been found.[562] The west side of the wall (20 x 3 m) was set against the slope of the hill, but its other three walls were freestanding. While the inside was carved with two continuous superimposed friezes running at the top, only the south wall, at the entrance, was decorated on the outside. Within the temenos, a house-like building which contained the remains of the Lycian dynast was placed relatively near the centre, perhaps to be visible from the doorway outside, and traces of a possible altar in the front of the north wall, suggest heroic cult for the dead.[563]

The mythological depictions show the typical battle scenes; Amazonomachy, Centauromachy and the Gigantomachy. There are also depictions of the Seven against Thebes, the shooting of the suitors by Odysseus, a Calydonian boar-hunt, and episodes involving Bellerophon, Perseus, Theseus and the rape of the Leucippidai by the Dioscuri in chariots.[564] In other words, this monument features most of the episodes represented on Apulian red-figure vases and Etruscan funerary monuments.

Although it has been suggested that only the descendants of the hero could have entered the precinct as there is evidence for the existence of doors (Figs. 212-213), visitors standing in front of the entrance would have seen to their left, an Amazonomachy on the upper, and a Centauromachy on the lower frieze (Fig. 210).[565] To their right, a scene of a city siege, perhaps the attack of the Seven against Thebes

[561] Childs 1976, 316.
[562] Thompson 1966, 42, n. 8.
[563] B. S. Ridgway 1997, 89; Oberleitner 1994, 19.
[564] For the various myths, see Landskron 2008, 117-127.
[565] Oberleitner 1990, 73. I am grateful to Dr Alice Landskron (University of Vienna) who provided me the pictures showing the evidence of doors in the temenos entrance.

above the depiction of a battle (Fig. 211).[566] All these themes were duplicated inside the temenos wall, where other subjects included the deeds of the Greek heroes Perseus and Theseus, depicted on the east wall, and the peculiar depiction of Odysseus slaying the suitors on the south-eastern wall, among others (Fig. 209). The reliefs of the whole monument, however, show differences in style and of the models used.[567]

At Trysa, the treatment of the drapery is more sober than at Xanthos, characterised by 'petal-like fold' patterns, and apparently many significant details were added in paint.[568] In both Amazonomachies, the stumbling-horse motif is recurrent (A2, B4) among the other more traditional poses of duels, the helping of a wounded comrade (A15, B13), the falling soldier (A13, B19) and the hair-pulling motif (A2). The Amazons, on the other hand, appear on horseback and on foot, wearing a tight belted garment and a mantle, while their arms are the spear, the bow, the axe and the *pelta*.[569] In general, the friezes show a predilection for representing figures in the process of collapsing violently, similarly to those depicted on Etruscan sarcophagi. It is worth noting that, in spite of the several Greek themes treated on the friezes, there is no indication of Heracles and his labours, as B. S. Ridgway observes.[570] Therefore, although we do not know which Amazonomachy was depicted, we can at least think about the meaning of the subject in a funerary context, as part of a different regional identity and identification with the myth when compared to its meaning on the Greek mainland and in Italy.

Apparently, all the subjects depicted on the building worked as allegories of the dynast's deeds, whose victories in battle were used partly as propaganda and partly as a record of historical fact.[571] If this is correct, the depiction of both Amazonomachies on the monument may be representative of a hero's valorous fight. This indicates that the Eastern tradition of narrative battles enhancing a particular dynast or hero (as in Assyria

[566] Childs 1978, 13; Oberleitner 1994, 24-26.
[567] Childs 1978, 14.
[568] Childs 1976, 294; B. S. Ridgway 1997, 93.
[569] Eichler 1950, 53-54.
[570] B. S. Ridgway 1997, 92.
[571] Childs 1978, 6.

or Egypt) was able to bring new elements to the visual narrative. This is perhaps in tune with the 'expectations' of contemporary viewers and their viewing contexts, thus refining the concept of funerary monument to degrees unknown in the Greek mainland.[572] Although Lycia is the place where Bellerophon fought against the Chimaera, it is not easy to find a common theme uniting all the myths depicted on the temenos wall of the *heroon*. Boardman states that the complete decorative programme of the *heroon* gives the impression of 'Greek myth bought by the metre'.[573] However, it is here worth asking why this particular set of choices was featured in the *heroon,* and whether the fact that so many different myths were displayed together had a specific meaning.

(c) The Mausoleum at Halikarnassos. This gigantic funerary monument is said to have been commissioned by Artemisia, Mausolus' wife, after his death in 353 BC, although ancient sources suggest that it was an integral part of the dynast's planned city (Fig. 214).[574] The sources also tell us that it was considered among the Seven Wonders of the World and that prestigious artists took part in its decoration.[575] Although the attribution of the sculptures has been questioned, particularly that of the friezes, Pliny's description of the Mausoleum has been used in various attempts to reconstruct the building. Apparently, it was rectangular, surrounded by an Ionic colonnade and surmounted by a stepped pyramid with a four-horse chariot, probably ridden by Mausolus on the top.[576] Although the building's programme has been seen as the fusion of three cultures, namely the Carian, the Greek and the Egyptian, the mythological content of the sculptures suggest a stronger Greek component.

The site in the modern city of Bodrum, Turkey, was first excavated by Newton in 1856 and then by a Danish group in the 1970s which, as well as several architectural

[572] Stewart 1990, 172.
[573] Boardman 1995, 192.
[574] Plin. *NH* 36.30.31; Vit. *Praef*. 12-13.
[575] According to Pliny (*HN* 36.30-31) the carvings were made by Skopas, Bryaxis, Timotheos and Leochares on the east, north, south and west sides of the Mausoleum respectively, to whom Vitruvius adds a fifth one, Praxiteles. For a recent comparative study on the Musoleum's sculpture and agency, see Tanner 2013, 58-87.
[576] Jeppensen 2002, 62-68; Waywell 1989, 28. For a discussion on the different models, see Jenkins 2010, 121-135.

remains, discovered numerous sculptures in the round and in relief. The sculptures have been classified by size in three different groups: 'life-size' (1.80 m), represented by the battle between Greeks and Persians; 'heroic' (2.40 m) figures in Greek and Oriental dresses; and 'colossal' (2.70-3 m) which included scenes of hunt, sacrifice and the ancestors of the Hekatomnids, perhaps also including Mausolus and Artemisia.[577] Additionally, three sculptural friezes were discovered by Newton; one depicting a chariot race, another a Centauromachy, and another an Amazonomachy. The latter is the best preserved of the three.

As with the sculptures, the placement of the friezes in the original building is still controversial, although Jeppensen and Zahle's model has been reaffirmed by the former in various publications, and has been hitherto the most compelling (Fig. 215).[578] According to the authors, the Amazon frieze was placed at the top of the podium and the Centauromachy on the plinth of the chariot group. This leaves the chariot frieze above the colossal statues in the colonnade, just below the coffers, in order to accommodate in stately surroundings the portrait statues of Mausolus and his family.[579]

Due to its extension and better preservation, the frieze of the Amazonomachy, today in the British Museum, is the best documented. Comparison of the friezes reveals different hands, although in general the composition is unified.[580] It is also possible to observe that the background of the frieze was painted in blue and the figures were detailed in red, as seen by the stripes on an Amazon's chiton. This suggests that the architectural polychrome of the building was composed by a simple scheme of blue, red and the white of the marble itself with some gilded details.[581]

[577] Ashmole 1972, 157; Waywell 1989, 29; B. S. Ridgway 1997, 124.
[578] Jeppensen and Zahle 1975, 76. See Jenkins 2010, 127-133.
[579] Jeppensen 1997, 47.
[580] Ashmole 1972, 167-168; Cook 1989, 38; B. S. Ridgway 1997, 130-131. Differences are appreciated, for example, in the proportions of the human bodies and the horses' manes, which show different styles of dressing (BM 1006, 1010, 1009, 1015, 1016), as observed on the south frieze of the Parthenon.
[581] Jenkins *et al*. 1997, 39. In particular, BM slabs 1019 and 1018.

Amazons are depicted both on foot and on horseback (Figs. 216-217), and particular motifs are similar to those observed on Etruscan relief sarcophagi, on the Amazon Sarcophagus in Vienna and on the *heroon* at Trysa. Amazons wear the traditional belted chiton pinned over both shoulders, although some show the right breast. In addition, some Amazons have a mantle and a few are depicted in oriental dress, with trousers and sleeves. Most Amazons are bare-headed, but some wear a Phrygian cap, and a few have helmets. They carry smaller shields than the Greeks, but not the traditional *pelta*. It is interesting to note that, among the twenty-eight Amazons depicted on the frieze, only one is almost naked (BM 1014), showing the nude back side of her body while her chiton opens in combat. However, since we have a fragment of a nude upper torso of a dead Amazon, one wonders how often this motif may have actually appeared on the original frieze. Further knowledge of this would provide us interesting parallels with the painted and carved depictions of nude Amazons on Etruscan sarcophagi, for example. Whatever the case, the drapery is used to enhance and explain the forms of the human figure. In Ashmole's words 'the sculptor has contrived to show that the body is breathing, pulsating; flesh rather than marble'.[582] However, one wonders whether these details were appreciated by a viewer placed on the ground level, considering that the frieze was placed up high.

The Amazonomachy could have been a suitable theme for Caria since it possessed two of the most notable woman warriors in history, coincidently both named Artemisia; one fought at Salamis, while the other was Mausolus' wife, who was overpowering the Rhodians. Another reason could have been that the battle-axe which Heracles took from Hippolyta still existed in the Temple of Zeus at Labraunda, the ancestral sanctuary of the Hekatomnid dynasty. This interpretation may be supported by the identification of Heracles on slab BM 1008, thus making his opponent Hippolyta. However, Heracles' expedition to Themiskyra would have worked against the locals and in favour of the Greek hero. In addition, the presence of both Centauromachy and

[582] Ashmole 1972, 191.

Amazonomachy on the same building would have recalled the Parthenon programme. Yet viewers (if at all acquainted with Greek sculpture) would have been required to read the images in a new context. If this is correct, it is likely that Mausolus (or his wife on his behalf) wanted to be compared with Heracles in the Amazonomachy and Theseus in the Centauromachy. This may also include Achilles, if Ashmole's suggestion that each side of the Mausoleum depicted a different Amazonomachy is correct – although this interpretation should not be pushed too hard.[583]

3.4. Northern Greece

This region comes at the end because even though Macedonians were Greek, their political organization was different and so were their funerary customs, which are closer to those found in the periphery of the Greek world rather than in Mainland Greece (Fig. 218). This is seen, for example, in that Macedonian 'weapon burial ritual', common in Apulia among the Peucetian and Daunian 'warrior princes', persisted into the fourth century BC, as seen in the Derveni tombs. The painted royal tombs at Vergina/Aegae, on the other hand, are closer to Etruscan models.[584] In fact, a new creation of monumental tomb in the form of tumuli made its appearance in Macedonia around the middle of the fourth century BC, to be used at first by dynasts, and then by the ruling classes. These subterranean burial constructions have one or two chambers, a semi cylindrical roof, marble or wooden doorways, and were accessible through a *dromos*.[585] The more monumental of them have richly decorated façades with architectural features. Originally destined to be used by members of the royal family, and primarily

[583] Ashmole 1969, 23.

[584] On Macedonian burial practices generally, see Morris 1998, 75-80. Andronikos 1994b, 49-51. Not all scholars are happy with the identification of Vergina with ancient Aigai. See Faklaris 1994. More recently, Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2011; Kottaridi 2013.

[585] Plato's description of such a tomb (*Laws* 947d-e) confirms that no later than the middle of the fourth century BC their main characteristics, especially the vault, had already been established. For eastern influences on the architecture of Macedonian tombs, see Andronikos 1987, 1-16; Miller 1993, 102, n. 8. For a summary of the debate, see Whitley 2001, 409-412.

intended for a single burial (the case of Philip's tomb at Vergina is the only early exception); they were later used for successive burials of the same family.[586]

Macedonian tombs were not readily accessible to the public eye.[587] It is surprising to the modern visitor that, unlike the Etruscan tombs, the ancient Macedonians took such exceptional care over monuments which were to be covered and unseen after the completion of the burial. Yet, it should be taken into account that the tumulus was a prerogative of the dead according to Homer, as depicted on the Polyxena Sarcophagus. From this point of view the Macedonian tombs, regardless of their monumentality and contrary to similarly monumental burial monuments in Thrace and the East, were meant to remain invisible to the living, as they belonged to the dead. This idea is further expressed not only in the care for the interior walls, which were often decorated, but in the 'furnishing' of the tombs with wooden or stone couches (male burials), rarely with thrones (female burials) and always with precious personal belongings among other grave goods.[588]

The painted decoration on the walls and porticoes of Macedonian tombs are important monuments of Hellenistic art, commonly showing wreaths, domestic objects, or suits of armour. In some cases, however, there is the exceptional judgement in Hades as seen on the façade of the great tomb at Lefkadia and the rape of Persephone at Vergina. The paintings in these two chamber tombs provide the only examples of Greek mythological depictions in Macedonian funerary monuments. Other depictions appear on grave goods, such as on the shield and on the throne of Tomb II at Vergina, and in the bronze reliefs on the Derveni Krater.

(a) Tomb I, Vergina (Tomb of Persephone). The great tumulus at Vergina revealed three burial chambers (Figs. 219-220). Among them, the so-called Tomb of Persephone, had been plundered in Antiquity, but contained perhaps the best-preserved surviving

[586] Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2011, 288-289.
[587] Miller 1982, 159.
[588] Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2011, 290.

example of all Greek wall paintings.[589] Although the exceptional quality is comparable with the painted hunt frieze of its neighbouring tomb (Tomb II), the frescoes in the Persephone's tomb are typified by an entirely different concept, from which landscape is almost completely absent.[590]

The main scene depicted on one of the long sides of the tomb shows Hades abducting Persephone with his left arm, who desperately tries to react with a helpless move in the opposite direction (Figs. 221-222). The god of the underworld is already stepping on his *quadriga*, holding firmly with his right hand the reins of his horses and his sceptre. To the right, behind the chariot, a young female figure is kneeling horrified at the event, while Hermes, at the other end of the scene, wearing his *petasos* and holding his *kerykeion* leads the way in front of the horses. On the top left corner, Zeus' approval of the abduction is indicated by a sketchy depiction of his thunderbolt. A few crocus flowers beneath the chariot are the only landscape features which allude to the field of action.[591] On the opposite wall, the three Fates are depicted. Their figures, facial features, hair and folds of their garments are outlined in light brown lines, reflecting the masterly use of the brush, with no addition of any other colours.[592] In a similar way, Demeter, veiled and seated on a rock, laments the loss of her daughter, similar to the depiction of Niobe on **[Cat. 21]**.[593]

Covering three of the four walls of Tomb I, the depictions are mythological and are symbolically related to the cycle of life and death, perhaps in connection with the Eleusinian mysteries. The subject-matter may have depended on literary versions of the abduction of Persephone, as recorded in the Homeric Hymns.[594] Incisions on the

[589] Andronikos 1994a, 86-95; *Id*. 1994b; Kottaridi 2013, 281-291.

[590] Andronikos 1994b; Staatsoglou-Paliadeli 2011, 285. Tomb II has largely become famous given the debate over its occupant, but equally important is the painting that adorns the façade of the tomb. For arguments against Philip II: Borza and Palagia 2007, 81-125; for Philip II, see Worthington 2008, 234-241; Lane Fox 2011, 14-34.

[591] Andronikos 1994b, 69-75, pl. 10-12, figs. 27-29.

[592] *Ibid*. 75-91, pl. 2, figs. 30-39. Hardiman 2010, 512.

[593] Andronikos 1994b, 69-75, pl. 10-11, figs. 7, 26-29. According to Brecoulaki (2006, 84), the sketchy quality of the line creates an impression of *pathos* and may echo the paintings of Zeuxis.

[594] Andronikos 1994b, 75-91, pl. I-X, figs. 6-8; Staatsoglou-Paliadeli 2011, 285.

surface of the walls were used in a preliminary sketch, suggesting an original creation. This also indicates that the painter worked in a quick but creative way, in order to arrange his composition on the wall's given dimensions, as similarly observed in some painted tombs at Paestum.[595]

The abduction theme is not unique to this tomb and appears in other contexts in Macedonia. For example, a mosaic from Pella depicts the abduction of Helen by Theseus, which clearly finds echoes compositionally with the abduction scene from Tomb I at Vergina.[596] Other representations show Hades and Persephone on a quadriga, as seen on a marble throne from the Tomb of Eurydice, while the couple also appears on the front of the Tomb of the Palmettes (Figs. 223-224).[597]

(b) The Tomb of Judgement, Lefkadia. Other painted tombs have been also found outside the ancient capital as, for example, the great tomb at Lefkadia (Naousa), also known as the Tomb of Judgement, and the Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles. These tombs are dated to between the end of the fourth to the end of the third centuries BC.[598] The Tomb of Judgement shows three levels of decoration on its façade (Fig. 225). As in Tomb II at Vergina, the Doric architecture of this tomb mirrors public buildings. Here a painted tryglyph and metope frieze show depictions of a Centauromachy with ample shading to suggest projection in relief.[599] Above this frieze, there is another one depicting another battle composed of mounted warriors versus warriors on foot, possibly Macedonians fighting Persians. Yet, the largest paintings that survive are the images placed between the four half-columns on the façade and represent images associated with the afterlife. These include (from left to right) the deceased, Hermes

[595] Andronikos 1994b, 49-69, pl. 4, figs. 13-26. Based on the subject matter, composition and stylistic features of this painting, Andronikos suggests Nichomachos of Thebes as the painter (1994, 126-130) as described in Pliny's (*HN* 35.108-110) and known for the speed of his technique. See Pollitt 1986, 191; Brecoulaki 2006, 97-99; Hardiman 2010, 512; Staatsoglou-Paliadeli 2011, 286. For Paestum, see Pontrandolfo *et al.* 2004.

[596] It may simply be part of a learned Greek iconographic vocabulary. See Robertson 1982, 247; Dunbabin 1999, 13-14.

[597] Andrianou 2009.

[598] A list of other tombs can be found in Miller 1993, 105-116. See also Drogou and Paliadeli 1999, 41-71.

[599] Miller 1982, 159.

Psychopompos, an enthroned Aeacus and a standing Rhadamanthus, these last two being judges of the dead (Fig. 226). The themes form a curious blend of public and private art. For example, the Centauromachy is found on public, personal and funerary monuments. The battle scene is again a standard image, appearing in numerous public monuments in Italy, Greece and in the East. The individual figures, however, are very specific to the monument and concerns of the tomb's occupant. Therefore, these figures break the illusion of the public aspect of the portico and bring the viewer back to the funerary sphere.[600]

While these paintings provide us with our best evidence for large scale Greek painting especially in the fourth century BC, the specific cultural and funerary contexts should not be forgotten. The subject matter is often specific to the type of building, with both the abduction scene in Tomb I and the figures of the Tomb of the Judgment reinforcing beliefs about the afterlife among the Macedonians. With similar imagery in Athens and elsewhere typically depicting the deceased (even if ideally) in life or during a funerary ritual, the Macedonian images in some tombs contain mythological and allegorical images that could represent specific religious beliefs or concerns about the afterlife. However, they could have also entail ideas of heroising those buried inside the tombs. Concerning this, the abduction of Persephone is a rare one in Greek art and so may hold special importance.[601]

(c) The Derveni Krater. A well-known Macedonian funerary custom is the disposal of the cremated dead in large kraters, illustrating the purpose of much of the metalwork found. This is the case of the most famous of these vessels, the Derveni Krater, which was used as a container for the cremated remains of a man and a younger woman.[602] This bronze krater is covered in decoration relating to the god Dionysos and his followers.

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[600] *Ibid*.

[601] Andronikos 1994b, 100-109, 131-134; Foley 1994; Brecoulaki 2006, 81-83.

[602] For the excavations at Derveni, see Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997. On the krater, see the monograph by Barr-Sharrar 2008. On the osteological evidence, see Musgrave 1990, 310-321.

From a recent study it is possible to highlight three important aspects of this krater: the burial context, the ownership, and the artistic antecedents.[603]

The overall burial context suggests that the male occupant of the tomb was wealthy, as 43 metal vessels were found in Tomb B (Figs. 227). He had a military career, given the weapons, cuirass and greaves that accompanied the krater, and that there was a concern about the afterlife.[604] This last inference comes from both the decoration of the krater and from its associated finds (Fig. 228). The scene on the krater represents the god Dionysos reclining with Ariadne; Maenads, a Silenus and numerous other animal and mythological figures (Fig. 229). The overall scene is complex and in general the images recall Dionysian eschatology given the function of the krater as a wine mixing device in life and later a funerary urn for the dead.[605] This notion is perhaps reinforced by the famed Derveni Papyrus, an Orphic text that was uncovered in Derveni Tomb A. While the burial with its emphasis on cremation, sacrifice and wealth may invoke the Homeric culture, it is also clear that an interest in some type of afterlife was a major preoccupation for these people.[606] A sanctuary of Demeter and Kore was found nearby, which reinforces this interpretation.[607]

Drinking may have been part of a broader Macedonian culture. Therefore, the funerary connections of the symposium and associated rites may point to a unique cultural expression, which finds parallels in Etruscan funerary customs. The owner of the krater may be identified by the inscription on the rim. Written in a Thessalian dialect, it reads, '*of Astioun, son of Anaxagoras, from Larissa'* (last quarter of the fourth century

[603] Barr-Sharrar 2008, 7-8.

[604] Elaborate metal vessels survive from Macedonia (as they do not elsewhere) because Macedonians used to deposit large numbers of valuables in their tombs. However, neither expensive dedications nor large temples have been found in Macedonia; see Whitley 2001, 407.

[605] This krater, nonetheless, showed no traces of use apart from the funerary one. See Barr-Sharrar 2008. Aristophanes (*Fr.* 85) was already aware of the Macedonians' drinking habits in the fifth century and a painting of a symposium scene from a fourth century BC Macedonian tomb at Aghios Athanasios confirms this. For the tomb, see Tsimbidou-Avloniti 2004 149-151 and 2007, 57-67. For the importance of dining among the Macedonians, see Borza 1983, 44-45; Carney 2011, 129-180.

[606] Barr-Sharrar 2008, 45-46; Carpenter 2000, 50-59. For the papyrus, see Betegh 2004.

[607] Hardiman 2010, 516, n. 23. On Macedonian religion, see Christensen and Murray 2010, esp. 432.

BC).[608] The Thessalians played an important part in Alexander's cavalry and it may be that this particular individual was one of several Thessalians who returned from duty in Bactria. For our purposes it may be worth pointing out that multiple gold Orphic tablets in fourth century BC burials have been found in Thessaly and thereby they illustrate that these funerary ideas were far-reaching.[609]

Finally, the artistic antecedents would seem to suggest a strong interest in Attic forms, both in the design of the krater and in the figural decoration. Barr-Sharrar notes the similarities to a metal shape that was invented in Athens about 480-470 BC, but also to a strong Attic tradition of bodily form. The profiles of the figures are reminiscent of grave reliefs; the bodies are languorous like those of Praxiteles, while the drapery parallels to that on Peloponnesian art.[610] This would then suggest that this piece is strongly influenced by non-Macedonian contexts (Attic styles, Thessalian religion). The possibility that the krater may have been manufactured in Athens, does not undermine the Macedonian context in which was found (and probably commissioned), similar to the problem posed by the Sarcophagus of the Amazons in Florence **[Cat. 35]**.[611]

4. Discussion

After reviewing the different types of funerary monuments on which myths were depicted and analysing them by region, we can broadly state that reliefs were the favoured medium in the East, whereas painting was the preferred medium in northern Greece. We may add the evidence – though limited – for the decoration of wooden sarcophagi from Kerch (carved ivories and wooden reliefs) and the decoration of the bronze krater

[608] Hardiman 2010, 516, wrongly interprets the name in the inscription as being an original work by Astioun, when in fact, as Barr-Sharrar correctly identifies the name with that of the owner, not the artist.

[609] On the inscription and its implications, see Barr-Sharrar 2008, 43-45. On the Thessalian gold tablets, see Betegh 2004, 235-349.

[610] Barr-Sharrar 2008, 48-72. She notes the developments from the Athenian metal krater of the A-type for the form of the Derveni krater, while also listing several specific precursors. The Peloponnesian parallels for the drapery come from the Argive Heraion and the Asclepium at Epidaurus.

[611] Hardiman 2010, 516.

from Derveni. This section discusses the significance of these particular forms of representation and viewers' responses to their different displays.

4.1. The monuments and their forms of representation

From the description of the monuments in Section 3, some general observations regarding the uses of Greek mythology on funerary monuments outside the Italian Peninsula can be made **(Table 11)**.

Region	Monuments	Amazons	Centaurs	Abduction	Heroic-looking	Other
Black Sea	Vase painting (Attic)	√				√
	Taman relief	√				
	Wooden sarcophagi			√		√
Sidon/Cyprus	'Lycian' sarcophagus		√		√	
	Amazon sarcophagus	√				
Anatolia	Nereid Monument				√	
	Perikles at Lymira				√	√
	Heroon at Trysa	√	√	√	√	√
	Mausoleum	√	√		√	
Macedonia	Tomb I, Vergina			√		
	Tomb of Judgement		√		√	√
	Derveni Krater					√

Table 11. Depictions of Greek myths on funerary monuments outside Italy.

Firstly, Greek myths are restricted to a reduced number of monuments. This is different from the case of Italy where they appear on a wider number of Apulian and Etruscan funerary monuments. In this view, isolated finds of sarcophagi fully decorated with scenes derived from myth, such as the Amazon sarcophagus in Vienna, cannot be regarded as a testimony to the widespread use of mythical subjects on this specific type of funerary monument outside of Italy. Etruria offers a much more prevalent use of Greek myth on sarcophagi during the fourth century BC, since terracotta urns and Roman sarcophagi followed this trend only much later. Tomb painting occurs mostly in Macedonia, apart from the early exception of Elmali. Yet, among the extant fourth-century BC examples, only Tomb I at Vergina and the Great Tomb at Lefkadia (Tomb of Judgement) show mythological figures. Individual objects from such contexts, the painted throne in the Tomb of Eurydice and the Derveni Krater for instance provide

further examples, and their specific iconography is perhaps best interpreted in terms of afterlife beliefs. Depictions of myth on architectural reliefs that adorned monumental tombs, on the other hand, are the most outstanding feature of eastern funerary art, particularly in Lycia and Caria. The Taman relief may be part of this tradition, in spite of its unique style and composition.

Secondly, Amazonomachies and Centauromachies constitute the most frequent mythological depictions on funerary monuments and can appear in conjunction (e.g., *heroon* at Trysa and Mausoleum at Halikarnassos), as in Etruria and in the Apulian examples discussed in the previous chapters. Apart from the Amazonomachy in the Mausoleum, all the others have no main hero. Further, the depiction of Amazons on the Taman relief is unique in that it narrates the Scythian Amazonomachy, reflecting local tastes and preferences. In Italy, sculpted Amazonomachies also appear on the funerary *naiskoi* from Taranto dated *ca*. 330 BC, while painted and carved versions are found in Etruscan sarcophagi.[612] The Centauromachy, on the other hand, appears on four of the monuments under investigation. Its representation on the 'Lycian' Sarcophagus recalls the short side of an Etruscan sarcophagus from Tarquinia **[Cat. 34]** and in particular the short side of **[Cat. 42]**, while their depictions on the painted metopes at Lefkadia are similar to examples appearing in metopes of the *naiskoi* depicted in Apulian vase painting.[613]

Thirdly, the use of mythical figures as reflecting concerns for the afterlife (for example, Dionysos, Persephone or Aeacus) is restricted to northern Greece and does not appear on funerary monuments in the East. The abduction of Persephone is sometimes depicted in sixth- and fifth- century BC art but became more popular in the fourth century BC, especially in southern Italian vase painting.[614] The painting at Vergina

[612] Carter 1975, 75f, 164f; pls. 40a, 41a-b and 41d.

[613] Loutrophoros by the Metope Group (Amazons). American private collection; *RVAp Supp* I 72, no. 18/16e, pl. X, 4. Trendall 1989, fig. 181.

[614] Brinkmann 1994, 109-111, 183-190 proposes that the south frieze of the late sixth-century Siphnian Treasury at Delphi showed the rape of Persephone by Hades on slab N, whereas Demeter's chariot was shown on slab M. On slab L Persephone and Hades were depicted as

is the largest depiction that has survived in a funerary context. Persephone is also found in Etruscan tomb painting, but she is shown with Hades in the underworld as indicated by the 'cloudy' pattern outlining the figures in the Tomb of Orcus II **[Cat. 32]** and in the Golini Tomb I.

Finally, heroic-looking scenes (battle, hunting) are usually juxtaposed with myths and seem to have been a preferred propagandistic device on the funerary monuments of Anatolia, which except for the *heroon* at Trysa, were installed in strategic public areas. Outside Anatolia, the painted façade of the Tomb of Judgement at Lefkadia also illustrates a heroic-looking battle scene on top of the Doric frieze, which in turn recalls the frieze with a hunting scene painted on the façade of Tomb II at Vergina.[615] In short, the significance of the forms of representation of the myths on these monuments resides in the extent to which they were intended for display before being buried (as with some of the funerary monuments from the Black Sea and Macedonia), or whether this display was intended to be public and permanent (the Anatolian examples).

4.2. The aristocratic context of funerary myths in the 'periphery' of the Grek world

The broad sociocultural reasons for the predominantly outlying and aristocratic contexts of funerary myth outside the Greek world require further clarifications. One of them resides on aspects of patronage, which in eastern funerary art and in Macedonia is mostly connected to monarchs and rulers. For the remainder of cases we can assume that the monuments were commissioned by aristocrats (Black Sea region), or by high-ranking soldiers in Macedonia **(Table 12)**.

a bridal pair. The subject is depicted on an Apulian red-figure krater by the Ilioupersis Painter (*ca*. 360-350 BC) in London (BM F277), on a hydria by the Group of BM F308 (*ca*. 340-330 BC) in New York (Metropolitan Museum) and a fragment from a vase from the Circle of the Painter of the Birth of Dionysos (370-360 BC) in Amsterdam (Allard Pierson Museum 2588).

[615] On the frieze, see Reilly 1993; Franks 2012, 14-20. On the hunt in funerary contexts, see Barringer 2001, 174ff.

Region	Monuments	Patronage	Public Display
Black Sea	Vase painting (Attic)	Aristocratic	
	Taman relief	?	√
	Wooden sarcophagi	Aristocratic (?)	
Sidon/Cyprus	'Lycian' sarcophagus	Royal	
	Amazon sarcophagus	?	
Anatolia	Nereid Monument	Royal	√
	Perikles at Lymira	Royal	√
	Heroon at Trysa	Royal	√
	Mausoleum	Royal	√
Macedonia	Tomb I, Vergina	Royal	
	Tomb of Judgement	Aristocratic	
	Derveni Krater	Aristocratic	

Table 12. Type of patronage of mythological funerary monuments outside Italy.

However, this issue is closely connected with the intended viewers of the monuments. In some cases, there was a propagandistic function intended for some funerary monuments displayed in public areas, as in the case of the Mausoleum and the Nereid Monument. The *heroon* at Trysa may also fit in this category of monuments. However, its rural placement and evidence implying the nearby presence of gates suggest that the large iconographic programme of the temenos wall was accessible to only a restricted number of visitors, and at specific times. For this reason, it is difficult to argue in favour of a propagandistic programme as found on other funerary monuments. Further, other examples seem to conform to religious beliefs and can thus be safely attributed to the private sphere, particularly in Macedonia. In other words, funerary contexts of Greek mythology on the eastern side of the Mediterranean differ from their use in Italy not only in form (funerary buildings instead of vases, to name one example), but also in message, which acquires propagandistic connotations, sometimes intended for a public beyond the limits of the *gens* and the city. The utilisation of myth in Macedonian tomb painting and on the wooden sarcophagi from Kerch is compositionally closer to Etruscan counterparts and exhibits a more private choice of myths. However, the painted Centauromachy in Lefkadia does not seem to imply any further funerary connotations and its purpose was likely to accentuate the architectural features of the tomb's façade, which recalls the Parthenon's metopes. In any case and leaving beliefs

aside, the self-representation of the occupant alongside mythical figures may have played a similar role to the one observed in Etruscan tombs, particularly in the Tomb of Orcus II **[Cat. 32]** where Hades is also depicted.

In this regard, viewers' responses to different types of monuments and their interaction with the myths depicted on them would have been different for every case. For example, the mythical battle scenes in the Mausoleum would hardly have been appreciated from the ground level. In addition, the setting of the colossal building in an urban area would have made it part of the viewers' daily lives. These viewers were no longer part of a funerary ceremony, and thereby the building might have lost its cultural significance as a funerary monument. Therefore, the 'horizon of expectations' of the inhabitants of Halikarnassos who looked at the Mausoleum in Antiquity was always in motion, as viewers changed over time. A similar case applies to the Nereid Monument at Xanthos, which eventually became part of the city's landscape. By contrast, Macedonian tombs were accessible and seen only at the time of the burial. Therefore, the number of viewers was restricted to that specific event only. To these viewers the link between the deceased and the heroic figures represented would have not passed unadvertised. As mentioned earlier, it has been said that the Dionysiac scene on the Derveni krater could have reflected specific beliefs. However, as similar images appear in large quantities on Apulian red-figure vases, the meaning could be also connected with the role of wine and Dionysos in Macedonian drinking and banqueting. This was, after all, an elite practice. In this sense, it is interesting to note that this type of elaborate metal vessels have come to us because Macedonians used to deposit large numbers of luxury items in their tombs. However, similar to the situation in Apulia, neither extensive dedications nor large temples have been found in Macedonia.[616]

Summing up the above observations, the cultural significance of the funerary uses of Greek myth at the fringes of the Greek world – a phenomenon foreign to the

[616] For this particular aspect of Macedonian culture, see Whitley 2001, 407.

Greek mainland – reveal that mythological narratives and their figures varied according to contexts and region, and that they could assume manifold meanings. Furthermore, it is clear that local aristocrats and rulers used Greek mythology to enhance their status and to reinforce their cultural links with the Greeks, in a similar way to the Italic people and the Etruscans. The display of heroic stories during the funeral and afterwards in the case of the tombs placed in urban areas was a means by which the dead and their families could be elevated to a legendary level.

5. Conclusion

The funerary monuments discussed in this chapter show that outside Italy the use of Greek myth was also an elitist practice. Its varied treatment requires that it be studied in connection with the local burial customs, which can reveal diverse cultural iconographic choices. Inhumation was familiar to the Greeks, but their coffins were seldom of marble nor were they as sumptuously decorated as Sidonian sarcophagi or the wooden sarcophagi from Kerch. Macedonian kings had opulent tombs but chose to be cremated, hence the absence of sarcophagi from this region. However, their tombs were decorated with wall paintings and contained luxury items. In Lycia and Caria there are examples of monumental tombs decorated with heroic-looking and mythical scenes. Mythological depictions like this on vases found in Apulian tomb-groups, on the other hand, were apparently quite unpopular and are absent from the wealthiest tombs. Chamber tombs of different burial mounds on the Kerch Peninsula, however, did contain a small number of imported vessels, mostly Attic, on which mythological figures appear.

In the case of sarcophagi, decorated vessels and wall paintings, we can assume a funerary display similar to Apulian and Etruscan funerary monuments. Other funerary monuments in the form of pillar tombs, *heroa*, or monumental buildings were placed in strategic points of urban areas so as to be integrated into the viewers' everyday lives. It is, therefore, not a coincidence that the latter category belonged to rulers and dynasts

who wanted to emphasise their privileged position by giving their deeds a heroic-looking quality, by juxtaposing them with mythical battles or figures as seen on the Nereid Monument and in the Mausoleum. Trysa is the funerary monument that contains the largest number of mythological depictions. However, it constitutes an exception within the latter category because it was placed in a rather rural area. In any case, the dead, or their living successors, expected to gain recognition and immortality from the large scale of the precinct.

The main point of this chapter has been to illustrate the socio-political context and the cultural significance of using Greek myths to decorate funerary monuments outside Italy. The funerary use of myth is a phenomenon observed in the 'periphery' of the Greek world and it was something desired by the non-Greek aristocratic elites of different places at the fringes of the Mediterranean. Our next chapter will take us back to Italy to draw concluding remarks for this study.

Chapter V

Conclusions: The Funerary Uses of Greek Myth in Italy

1. Introduction

The aim of this dissertation has been to determine the funerary uses of Greek myths in Apulian and Etruscan tomb contexts of the fourth century BC. Chapter I provided an overview of the geographical and cultural backgrounds of these two regions, the main debates on mythological imagery in current scholarship, and the methods applied to this study. Chapter II examined the funerary uses of myth in Apulia by considering five tomb-groups containing Apulian red-figure vases from the Peucetian and Daunian area, and one example of tomb painting. The aim of this chapter was to study these tomb-groups together in order to detect potential iconographic choices: to consider the use of these monuments at funerals and the viewers' interaction with the images. Chapter III studied the funerary uses of myth in Etruria by examining 17 Etruscan mythological sarcophagi and two tomb paintings. In this case, the material was discussed by subject-matter and its possible socio-political and cultural significance in a funerary context. As the use of Greek myths is not restricted to Italy, funerary monuments from other Mediterranean regions were incorporated as comparative material and were examined in Chapter IV. The current chapter, finally, will readdress the research question defined at the outset and summarise the main conclusions that can be drawn from this study. It will further highlight how this dissertation advanced our knowledge in the field of fourth-century BC material culture and specify its limitations.

2. Research conclusions

This dissertation proposed to answer the broad question of how Greek heroic stories were used in the tomb context of two specific cultures in Italy, namely Apulia and Etruria. The particular implications for each region were discussed in Chapters II to III, while Chapter IV provided a wider Mediterranean framework of reference for the study of this phenomenon in Italy. Following the review of previous studies in the field (Chapter I), three main research objectives were identified:

1. To determine the funerary uses of Greek myth in tomb contexts of different cultures in Italy (Apulia and Etruria).
2. To examine why they occur in particular media and regions.
3. To establish the idea that the funerary use of myth is a phenomenon that occurs in the 'periphery' of the Greek world.

My selection of Apulian and Etruscan examples was grounded on two principles. Firstly, I maintained that fourth-century BC Apulian vase painting continues the iconographical and mythological traditions of sixth- and fifth-century BC mainland Greece (Chapter II). However, Apulian vases should not be seen as a mere perpetuation of Attic red-figure pottery since the former displays very distinct shapes, decoration and function. Moreover, these vases were created with a funerary purpose in mind and their production was targeted primarily at the native market. Therefore, Apulian vases should be approached as unique Italic creations. Secondly, in Chapter III, I challenged the 'banalization' of Greek myth in Etruria. I contended that Etruscan artists and the public were familiar with the contents and motifs of Greek myths, and that they selected specific episodes to express their own concerns about life and death. In other words, Hellenocentric approaches against the pre-Roman peoples of central and southern Italy fail to illuminate their specific and well-founded interest in adopting and adapting particular versions of Greek myth.

The use of Greek mythical representations in the funerary art of Apulia and Etruria was the result of both material and ideological exchanges between these cultures and the Greeks. Both regions experienced similar levels of contact that resulted in the incorporation of Greek imagery in a variety of media, including funerary monuments (vases in Apulia, sarcophagi and wall-paintings in Etruria). In southern and central Italy this phenomenon is already noticeable for the so-called Orientalising period (seventh century BC), in which myth played the role of mediator in cultural exchanges between the Greek merchants, the Greeks in Magna Graecia and the native population. The absence of local written sources, however, leaves the archaeological record as the only evidence available when attempting to reconstruct not only the history of the region, but also its cultural diversity and ideologies. The following are the main research conclusions of this dissertation:

- Apulian red-figure vases were the main channel for the diffusion of Greek mythological models in an indigenous environment, but also provide valuable evidence for the cultural expression of the local communities of some Italic sites. In fact, most studies approaching Apulian vase painting do not consider the native context in which the vases were most likely created, used and ultimately buried. Instead, these studies usually base their interpretations of the myths on Apulian vases on a modern Hellenocentric perspective of Magna Graecia, as if the whole region of Apulia was 'Greek' and Apulian vases were created as a continuation of Attic red-figure. In Chapter II I argued against this view by demonstrating that not only the choice of subjects depicted on the vases, but also their shapes often duplicated show something distinctively Apulian. The tomb-groups found in the graves belonging to emerging Daunian and Peucetian centres such as Canosa and Ruvo are evidence of this. Other media, such as wall painting reveal only isolated instances of imagery that can help us to reconstruct, in part, the funerary ideology of these people. Concerning this, the frieze with Cerberus at Canosa is, so far, one of a kind. It is interesting, however,

to point out that in central and northern Apulia only scarce evidence has been found of funerary structures of the *naiskos* type with carved friezes and metopes, popular in Taranto and widely depicted on Apulian vases. As some of the vases show, these funerary structures could bear mythological figures as well and it would be interesting to study this evidence in combination with tomb-groups.

Another essential feature of this study was the consideration of viewers and their response to the images at funerals. After having argued that the appropriation of myths and learning the Greek language were both aristocratic pursuits, I attempted to read the images from the viewers' perspective by considering their 'horizon of expectations' as articulated by Jauss.[617] Concerning this, people attended the *prothesis* in order to mourn the deceased and to offer gifts, among which we may count the vases. They may have joined the procession towards the tomb carrying some of the smaller vases with them. To move the larger examples the strength of several individuals or a chariot would have been required. When the body was finally deposited in contracted position, according to the local costume, the grave goods were placed around it or suspended from the graves to accentuate the display of the vessels. The vases and the pictures on them were, therefore, ultimately geared towards the deceased and the people accompanying him to the grave. In this context the question arose why it was considered appropriate to expose the viewers to stories of suffering and disaster at a time of mourning. This was answered by considering the double function of the vases. They not only distinguish the deceased with their display of magnificent shapes and decoration, but this event also allowed viewers to interact with a wide number of images and, at the same time, being able to enjoy them, regardless of their visual or literary knowledge of myth. The vases, being exhibited in association with other objects, would have

[617] Jauss 1982.

undoubtedly embellished the funerary procession while, at the same time, attesting to the status of the individual.

The visual culture associated with funerary ritual in Apulia seems to have been conditioned by both the demands and the social status of the clients. This certainly requires a public capable of understanding the images on the vases and other media. This public was certainly the aristocratic elites, who might have also appropriated tragedy by sponsoring semi-private theatrical performances. At this point, therefore, it is clear that local elites acquired this particular type of funerary monument and used the myths to reinforce their social position. This is strengthened by the observation that an increase in Apulian red-figure vases with complex mythological depictions was accompanied by a concomitant decrease of valuable metals in the graves of this period. This further indicates that social status in Apulia was linked to the appropriation of some Greek intellectual practices, but that the locals transformed it into something new that was their own cultural achievement.

- Some epic subjects not previously depicted by Greek artists seem to have originated in Etruria. Achilles' slaughter of the Trojan prisoners is a good example of this and the subject appears on a number of funerary monuments in a formula familiar to us from the *Iliad*. It is possible that the Etruscans were the first to translate the epic episode of Achilles' immolation of the Trojan prisoners into a visual language. Apparently, this particular image not only appealed to Etruscan sensibilities, but also conveyed an ideological value in the fourth century BC, when it was depicted in different media. Considering the historical milieu discussed in Chapter III, it is likely that the motif originated in Etruscan art. Its reputation somehow reached Praeneste in Latium and Daunia in Apulia (vase by the Darius Painter), where artists depicted the subject as well. But we cannot exclude the possibility that the the motif was part of an Italiote wall-painting lost to us.

Not enough attention has been paid to contextual problems that could shed light on the way the Etruscans used particular myths in their funerary monuments. I have attempted to fill this gap by pointing to the funerary uses of Greek mythological images in Etruria and to the fact that these pictures were ultimately for the dead, not the living. The recurrent depictions explicitly or implicitly denoting the shedding of blood support this idea. In other words, Greek mythological depictions are significant in Etruscan funerary art because they were selected to fulfil specific needs. The need (or desire) to depict blood is one of them.

On the other hand, the view that Etruscan artists betrayed the essence of Greek myth offers a partial account of Etruscan artistic skills, always in the shadow of Greek art. On this matter, I have argued that scene composition on Etruscan sarcophagi, for example, constitutes their most local and significant element. Concerning this, Etruscan sarcophagi are authentic cultural objects which, similar to Apulian vases, were a prolific medium for the depictions of myths in fourth-century BC Etruscan funerary monuments. Therefore, the subjects chosen and the juxtaposition of scenes should be interpreted by considering their ultimate function in mind.

In spite of a deeply rooted iconographic presence in Etruria, variations and adaptations of Greek heroic stories derived from the Trojan and Theban cycles may be explained by the absence of an indigenous tradition for these myths. Once placed in Etruria, the Greek heroic stories were deprived of their cultural and historical tradition. This enabled the Etruscans to use the subjects in new contexts and media, including their representations in funerary contexts of display.

The Theban scenes depicted on the Tarquinian sarcophagi have no contemporary or earlier parallels elsewhere in ancient art. There are only very few preserved examples of this iconography – three Tarquinian sarcophagi and

one from Tuscania – but all of these juxtaposed the Theban scenes with Trojan ones. This association is further reinforced by tomb paintings of the François Tomb, which also combine Theban (Eteocles and Polynices) and Trojan episodes (Achilles' sacrifice of the Trojans, Ajax and Cassandra). However, the use of Theban and Trojan cycles on Etruscan sarcophagi and wall painting should not be associated with historical (the destruction of Thebes by Alexander the Great) and political events (the conflicts with Rome). Instead, it should be understood in the specific context of the sociocultural application of these mythical stories on funerary monuments.

Unlike the situation in Rome with its abundant production of mythological sarcophagi, it seems likely that, different from Apulian vases, the Etruscan versions were the result of special commissions because their number is not very large (18) and because they are all different regarding composition and juxtaposition with other scenes. This indicates that artists composed a story by combining different visual schemes (known possibly from South Italian objects or Greek imports), including the possibility that they may have created their own visual versions after having heard about a story or play. Particularly heroic stories depicting death or events related to death were deemed relevant because they are intended for a funerary use, something that has been ignored repeatedly in current interpretations.

- The funerary use of Greek heroic stories is not limited to Apulia and Etruria. As discussed in Chapter IV Greek myths appear on other funerary monuments from other Mediterranean regions as well, which reveal diverse cultural iconographic choices. In this chapter I paid particular attention to the monuments and their forms of representations. That is, to compare how myths depicted on different media were represented and to what extent this was relevant to their funerary context. For example, in the case of sarcophagi, decorated vessels and wall paintings, we could merely assume a display during the funeral, similar to

Apulian and Etruscan funerary monuments. Other funerary monuments in the form of pillar tombs, *heroa*, or monumental buildings were positioned at strategic points of urban areas so as to be integrated into the viewers' everyday lives. It is, therefore, not a coincidence that the latter category belonged to rulers and dynasts who wanted to emphasise their privileged position by giving their deeds a heroic-looking quality. However, over time, these types of monuments might have lost their cultural significance as funerary buildings.

- Finally, mythological images on the funerary monuments from Apulia and Etruria are not destined to preserve memories (a function inverse to that observed in Anatolian *heroa* or Attic stelai). Enclosed in the tomb, their function is practical, substitutive and, in the case of Etruria, perhaps even magic. In a world dominated by the importance of rites, images have to be efficient. In the fourth century BC, Apulian vase painters had to be well informed about their customers' knowledge and 'expectations' because their craftsmanship was a business. Therefore, painters could not recast mythic narratives into completely new stories if these were incomprehensible to their clients. However, I argued that recognition of the scene is desirable, but otherwise there is no impediment to enjoying the painting. Although in the case of Etruscan sarcophagi and tomb paintings we may argue for special commissions, a similar principle applies. Viewers were certainly impressed when encountering the colourful scenes on sarcophagi; they may also have been intimidated by the demons of death and the gloomy underworld scenes painted in the tombs. What is valid for the monuments of the two regions is that the Greek mythological images became the common language for expressing universal human experiences, and both the people of Apulia and the Etruscans mastered this medium to portray their own particular world and their concerns about status and death.

3. Summary of contributions

In this research I have acknowledged the lack of studies that explain the funerary uses of myth from a regional comparative perspective. The monuments of Apulia and Etruria have for too long been dissociated from the study of Greek mythological images. This disjunction is regrettable, particularly when the unity of the Greek heroic tradition is observed in different regions of the Mediterranean. As shown in Chapters II to III there were funerary uses of Greek myth in Italy that were unique to the regions of Apulia and Etruria. In addition, it was shown that myths acquire a different cultural significance when placed on a funerary monument. This research has contributed to our knowledge of the field in the following ways:

1. It has developed a model for the interpretation of Greek myths on Apulian vases, which considers three main aspects: (a) re-contextualising the vessels by assessing them by original tomb-groups; (b) considering the funerary aspect of display and how viewers may have engaged with the images at different times during the funeral by defining a cultural frame ('horizon of expectations') for their understanding of the images; and (c) the extent to which this informs us about the native population's preferences, and the ultimate use of the images.

   (a) Most studies of myth in Apulia consider the vases in isolation disregarding how a mythological image on a given vessel fits within the whole funerary assemblage. The aim of Chapter II was to study a number of Apulian red-figure vases in relation to their original tomb-group. This allowed us to assess the myths depicted on them with regard to the original configuration of funerary assemblages in order to ascertain whether there was a pattern in iconographic preferences. In some cases, this has proven to be fruitful, especially for Tomb 55 in Ruvo, which is characterised by the repetition of the subject of Orestes and Iphigenia in Tauris. Similarly, the Varrese Tomb in Canosa shows a noticeable diversity in depictions of Niobe mourning her

children. This approach to the study of the imagery on Apulian vases is uncommon as the iconography of the vases is usually studied in isolation without considering the fact that they were displayed in groups. Here, not only the images of myth were important, but also their juxtaposition with other types of images, frequently of Dionysian or funerary nature. On this subject, Montanaro's work remains essential to any attempt to understand the combination of shapes and mythological images in Apulian funerary *corredi* of the fifth and fourth centuries BC.[618]

(b) In considering the funerary context of display of Apulian vases it was possible to understand that they were never displayed in isolation. As mentioned earlier, they were part of a larger collection of vases where the repetition of shapes seems to have conveyed a symbolic meaning as well. This allowed us to detect whether there were iconographic preferences or a programme behind the tomb-groups. This approach also considered understanding both its aesthetic and funerary function individually and in groups, as well as how viewers may have seen the images on them at different times during the funeral (*prothesis*, *ekphora*, deposition).[619]

(c) The large variety of myths that appear on Apulian vases, particularly scenes that seem to have been inspired by tragedies, shows that these were not intended for a public unfamiliar with myths.[620] This idea, alongside the possibility that the myths were explained by the painters at the time of purchasing the vases, as formulated by Todisco, contradicts what has been proposed by Giuliani and the need of a mediator during the funeral who would have explained the myths to the public.[621] Studies by Carpenter, Todisco and E. G. Robinson have shown that the great majority of vessels bearing depictions of mythological

[618] Montanaro 2007.
[619] Giuliani 1995; 2001.
[620] Taplin 2007; Todisco 2012; Carpenter 2014; E. G. Robinson 2014.
[621] Giuliani 1995; Todisco 2010 and 2012.

images have been found in native centres and not at Taranto, attesting to the preferences of the Italic people.[622] Apulian vases are invaluable because they provide the most significant evidence that these people existed, while at the same time providing a window into their funerary ideologies.

2. It has been demonstrated that the corpus of Etruscan mythological sarcophagi is important to the understanding of the funerary uses of Greek myths, even when this corpus is not as numerous as that of later funerary urns. Etruscan mythological sarcophagi alongside tomb paintings are significant because they attest to a trend that was unique to southern Etruria, which was almost exclusively restricted to the second half of the fourth century BC, as noted by Van der Meer in his illuminating study.[623] This finding complements other works previously done by Steuernagel and, more recently, Stevens who study Greek mythological imagery on Etruscan funerary monuments focusing on urns (although the former author considers some examples of fourth-century BC sarcophagi and one example of wall painting).[624] Steuernagel observes that representations of human sacrifice, murder at the altar, and scenes of violence in sacred places are as frequent on Etruscan late funerary monuments as they are scarce in Greek art. Therefore, irrespective of their origin they can be regarded as particularly representative of Etruscan feelings and beliefs. This view is also maintained by Van der Meer in his important monograph on Etruscan sarcophagi. However, my analysis differs from their work in that it attempts to explain the myths in their funerary placement as substitutes for the ritual shedding of blood instead of providing a socio-political reading of the images. The latter has taken the shape of, for example, references to putative anti-Roman propaganda on the frescoes in the François Tomb and other monuments

[622] Carpenter 2003; 2009a; Todisco 2003; E. G. Robinson 2014.
[623] Van der Meer 2004.
[624] Steuernagel 1998.

showing Achilles' sacrificing the Trojan prisoners or the anti-Syracusan programme of the Tomb of Orcus.[625]

3. It has articulated the idea that the funerary use of Greek myth is a phenomenon that occurs in the 'periphery' of the Greek world. Comparison with funerary monuments of Anatolia, the Black Sea and northern Greece revealed that the cultural significance of the funerary uses of myth in Italy remained in a semi-private sphere and that they were not intended to preserve memory in the same way as public monuments built by Near Eastern dynasts.

4. It has reconsidered the relation between mythological images and literature. This study has shown that these two spheres are not 'parallel' as Small argues.[626] Whether mythological stories circulated in the form of texts, were transmitted orally or spread by means of theatrical performances, the scenario I have presented is that Apulian and Etruscan artists did not lack originality or ceased any attempt to be creative. These artists had a huge repertoire of myths from which to choose, and they combined traditional and local elements as seemed to fit the type of monument best (for example, depiction of Greek heroes in local garments in Apulian vases or the addition of winged demons of death to Greek mythical scenes in Etruscan sarcophagi and tomb painting). In fact, as the number of 'banalisations' of myths prove, it is not the Greek text that was important to the artist, let alone to the client, but the visual materialisation of the scene involved. All the victims on Apulian vases and Etruscan sarcophagi are in turn an image of the dead who has just passed away.

[625] For Achilles' subject, for example, Coarelli 1985; Maggiani 1985; Massa-Pairault 1992. For the Tomb of Orcus, for example, Torelli 1985.
[626] J. P. Small 2003.

5. It has identified that the funerary uses of myth in Italy and other Mediterranean regions are diverse in their forms of representation. In the particular case of Italy and the regions studied here not only the material properties of the monuments differ (vases, sarcophagi, tomb painting), but also their intended meaning and emphasis on diverse iconographic elements. For example, Apulian vases have tragic scenes at their climax, but show no interest in the depiction of blood, something frequently featured on Etruscan funerary monuments. The concern for bloody depictions may find an explanation in that they would please the dead and, to some extent, they may replace (or represent a continuum) of funerary rites. In this way, when we recognise death itself in such representations of Etruscanised Greek myth often the old rites that were performed at funerals for the survival of the deceased appear to shine through.[627]

4. Limitations

This dissertation naturally comes with certain limitations. While it has established that there was a specific funerary use of Greek myth in Apulia and Etruria, aspects of patronage and agency that may have been responsible for the selection of particular mythological images have not been discussed in depth. This is conditioned by the main focus of this study, which has been placed on analysing images in their funerary contexts and the ways in which viewers engaged with them during the funeral.

Other limitations are of a chronological, geographical and contextual nature. Concerning the former, this dissertation only considers monuments created in the fourth century BC. This was necessary since most studies consider Apulian vases or Etruscan urns as representative examples of Greek myth in Italy, ignoring the corpus of Etruscan mythological sarcophagi and tomb paintings that are contemporary with Apulian vases.

[627] Jannot 1987; De Grummond 2006; Krauskopf 2006; Bonfante 2012.

Comparing these two corpuses of monuments created in the same period was thus essential.

The second limitation derives from our modern designation of regions. What we call Apulia, for example, follows the boundaries of administrative districts (roughly equivalent to the modern region of Puglia) and does not constitute an actual ancient geographical area. This problem also applies to Etruria with its heterogeneous material culture, showing differences between north and south and further variations from city to city. Ancient regions in Italy were far from isolated and their material cultures show that there was a vivid interaction. However, it would have exceeded the scope of this research to explore the monuments of neighbouring regions such as Lucania, Campania and Latium, which certainly could have highlighted further regional variations and provided a more comprehensive picture of the situation in the Italian Peninsula during this period.

Finally, this research is restricted to an interpretation of Greek myth in funerary contexts only. This limitation excludes other scenarios and monuments where Greek myth was applied. For instance the private use of scarabs, mirrors and vases, and the public use of terracotta pedimental sculpture on Etruscan temples were only considered as comparative material and only where instructive. In addition – as stated in the 'Methods' section in Chapter I – the very act of interpretation is conditioned by our modern point of view.[628] The limitation of all this evidence is that while the archaeological record shows us *how* the Apulians and the Etruscans used Greek myths in their funerary monuments, our understanding of *why* they used them has to depend on other sources or on our imagination. I have restricted my interpretation to the funerary use of images only, thus providing some possible interpretations among many others.

Yet, these limitations do in no way undermine the finds of this research. The analysis carried out still acknowledges a funerary use of Greek myth that is particular to

[628] Gadamer 1975 [2004]; Junker 2011.

societies in the periphery of the Greek world. Exploring the phenomenon in Apulia and Etruria allowed me to detect a preference for particular media and myths (for example, the Theban saga and Achilles in Etruria, Niobe in Daunia, Orestes in Peucetia, and Amazons being appealing in a variety of cultural environments). In addition, the artists' interpretations of heroic myths have contributed much to the understanding of the interaction between literature, oral tradition and visual expressions.

5. Conclusion

History has left us a large number of funerary images from Apulia and Etruria. It is often stated that an obsession with death was the main characteristic of the people living in these regions. However, this view is only partially valid on account of the fact that graves and their contents pose our main source of information (and in some cases the only source) for these past societies. The most commonly depicted mythological scenes of sacrifice, death and battle all have universal features in common: each scene has a victim (or victims) who has miraculously escaped from death, is dying or will eventually die. The numerous scenes of rape may be interpreted in the same way, as concerning victims who will no longer belong to their social group. In Apulia and Etruria these images were hidden away inside the grave and belonged to the realm of the dead. These images were ultimately images for the dead.

This dissertation has answered the question of how Greek heroic stories were used in the tomb contexts of Apulia and Etruria in the fourth century BC. Mythological images were analysed in two levels. One was concerned with their function during the funeral. The other, which was concerned with their meaning, was more difficult to define because it gravitates around beliefs, hopes, fears and afterlife conceptions. I have been mainly concerned with the first level, but after analysing the funerary use of Greek myths in Italy the second level of interpretation was not without relation to it. The funerary use of myth lies, therefore, in their capacity to arouse admiration in the living and to honour the dead (Apulia), and to replace older rites on a symbolic level (Etruria).

Apulian and Etruscan materials have so far remained marginal to most discussions of myth into art. Furthermore, mythological images in funerary contexts have not been sufficiently discussed considering both their local and wider Mediterranean resonance. This dissertation has demonstrated the benefits of a comparative regional study by stressing that the funerary uses of myth were diverse in their media, iconographic choices, and intended meaning. As a result, the mythological images depicted on the funerary monuments studied here provide us a window into the funerary ideologies of the Italic and Etruscan peoples at a fascinating period in the history of the Italian Peninsula.

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